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THE SIKH RELIGION

ITS GURUS, SACRED WRITINGS AND AUTHORS

BY

MAX ARTHUR MACAULIFFE

ਛੂਟੇ ਆਂਡਾ ਭੁਰਮ ਕਾ, ਮਨਹਿ ਭਇਓ ਪਰਗਾਸ;
ਕਾਟੀ ਬੇੜੀ ਪਗਹ ਤੇ, ਗੁਰੁ ਕੀਨੀ ਬੰਦ ਖਲਾਸ.

The egg of superstition hath burst; the
mind is illumined:
The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet
and freed the captive.

GURU ARJAN

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOL. V

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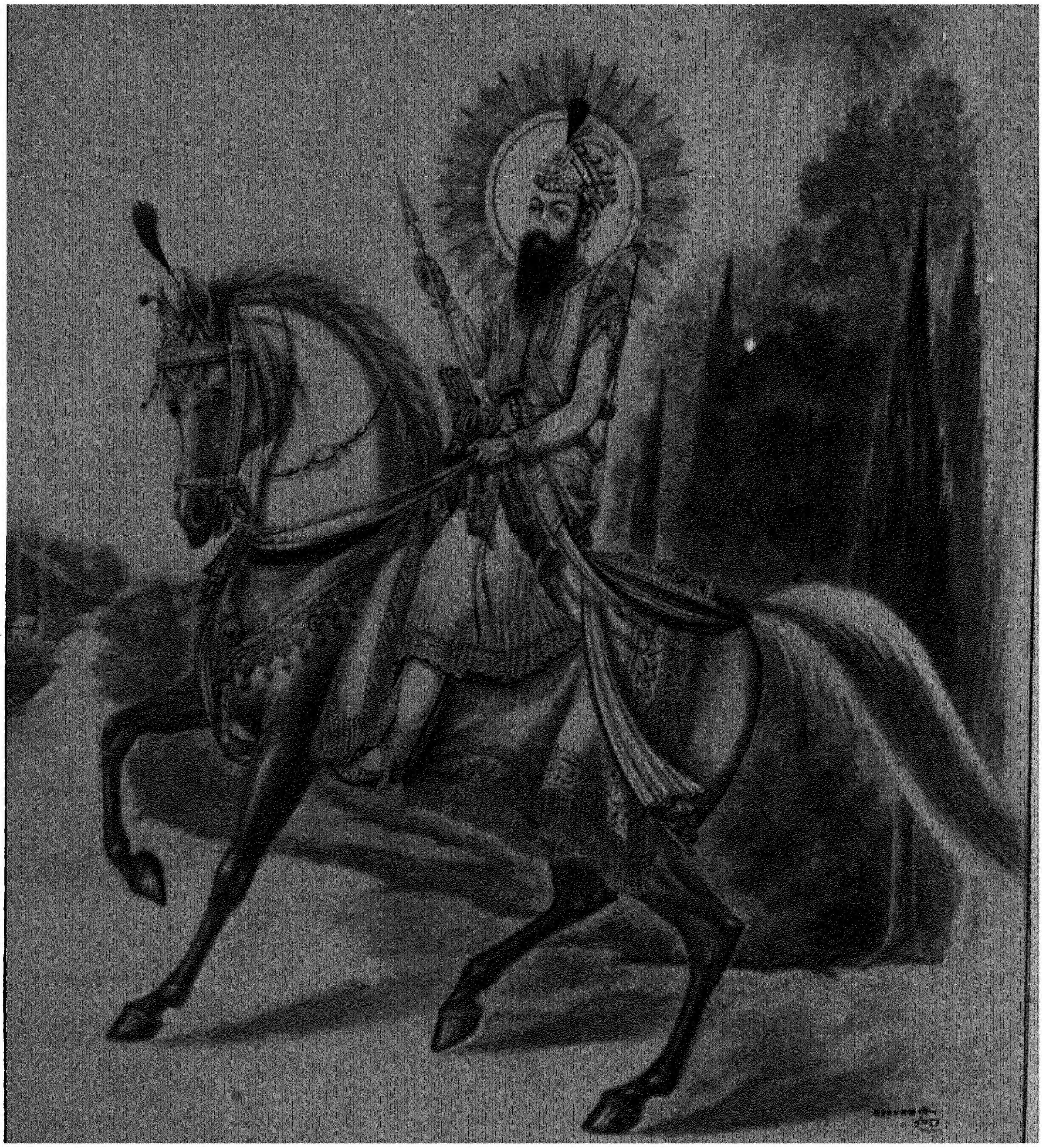
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GURU GOBIND SINGH

LIFE OF GURU GOBIND SINGH, THE TENTH AND LAST GURU [1]

CHAPTER I

AN account of the early years of Guru Gobind Rai has already been given in the life of Guru Teg Bahadur. Guru Gobind Rai, after his father's death, continued with even more diligence than before to prepare himself for his great mission. He procured a supply of sharp-pointed arrows from Lahore, and practised archery with great industry. The Guru's principal companions and bodyguard at

[1] The main authorities for the life of Guru Gobind Singh are the *Vichitar Nātak*, or Wonderful Drama, composed by the Guru himself; the *Gur Bilās*, by Bhāi Sukha Singh; and the *Sūraj Parkāsh*, by Bhāi Santokh Singh.

The *Vichitar Nātak* is a metrical composition divided into fourteen chapters, and written in archaic Hindi with a large admixture of Sanskrit in the Gurumukhi character. The date is probably about A. D. 1692.

Bhāi Sukha Singh, the author of the *Gur Bilās*, was born in A. D. 1766 in Anandpur, where Guru Gobind Singh long had his residence. He became a pupil of Bhāis Bhagwān Singh and Thākur Singh, and was subsequently a gyāni or expounder of the Granth Sāhib at Kesgarh, where the tenth Guru first administered his baptism. Bhāi Sukha Singh completed the *Gur Bilās* in A. D. 1797, and died in A. D. 1838. His work is also in old Hindi in the Gurumukhi character.

The author has also consulted with advantage Bhāi Gyān Singh's *Panth Parkāsh*.

There is a book called the *Sau Sākhi* which professes to be a conversation between Sāhib Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh on the sayings and doings of the tenth Guru. It is held in high estimation by the Kūkas—followers of the late Bhāi Rām Singh of Bhaini, in the Ludhiāna district of the Panjāb—and is relied on by them as the main authority for their heresy. Santokh Singh sometimes gives Bhāi Gurbakhsh Singh's communications to Sāhib Singh as the basis of his history of the Gurus from the time of Guru Angad, but he makes no mention of the *Sau Sākhi*. There appears nothing to establish its authenticity.

this time were his aunt Viro's five sons—Sango Shah, Jit Mal, Gopal Chand, Ganga Ram, Mahri Chand; his uncle Suraj Mal's two grandsons, Gulab Rai and Sham Das; Kripal, his maternal uncle; Bhai Daya Ram, the friend of his youth; and Bhai Nand Chand, an upright and favourite masand. The descendants of the Gurus, the masands, and the sons and grandsons of those who had served Guru Gobind Rai's father and grandfather gathered round his standard. He also entertained a number of singers, who sang the Gurus' hymns, and a number of bards who composed and sang in succession quatrains in praise of the Gurus. So great was the enthusiasm that the women of the city used to climb the top stories of their houses and chant the Guru's praises in extempore verses.

A man called Bhikhia residing in Lahore went to visit the Guru. Bhikhia, seeing him handsome and well-proportioned, thought he would be a suitable match for his daughter Jito. The Guru's mother was pleased at Bhikhia's proposal, and asked her brother Kripal to advise the Guru to accept it. The Guru did so, and there were great rejoicings at Anandpur on the occasion of the betrothal. Great too were the rejoicings in Bhikhia's domestic circle when he returned home with the good news. The twenty-third of Har, Sambat 1734 (A.D. 1677), was fixed for the marriage, and Bhikhia returned to Anandpur to inform the Guru of the glad day, and invite him to proceed with his marriage procession to Lahore. The Guru, contrary to the custom on such occasions, refused to go to Lahore, and said he would make a Lahore near Anandpur for the occasion. He sent written orders in every direction for assistance, and his wishes were amply gratified. The Sikhs thronged from the Panjab capital on the occasion, and with them came Bhikhia and his family. Shopkeepers and merchants opened shops and warehouses, and abode in Anandpur until the

completion of the nuptial ceremonies. After the marriage Bhikhia remained sometime with the Guru and performed all possible service for him.

The Guru, according to the custom of his predecessors, used to rise in the end of the night and perform his devotions. He particularly delighted to listen to the Asa ki War. After daybreak he gave his Sikhs divine instruction and then practised martial exercises. In the afternoon he received his Sikhs, went shooting, or raced horses; and ended the evening by performing the divine service of the Rahiras.

Once in the hot season when bathing with his cousins and other youths of the same age in the Satluj, the Guru divided the party into two opposing factions to play a game of splash-water. The Guru being endowed with superior strength reduced his cousin Gulab Rai to such straits that he with difficulty emerged from the water. In his confusion he began to put on the Guru's turban, believing it was his own. Bhai Sango ran to restrain him, for it would be a sacrilege for any one to put on the Guru's turban. Gulab Rai accordingly laid it down in consternation. The Guru saw the occurrence and begged Gulab Rai to bind the turban on his head, and it would some day obtain him honour. When in after days the Guru had to leave Anandpur for the Dakhan, Gulab Rai obtained possession of the city and established himself as Sikh priest there, thus fulfilling the Guru's prophecy.

The Guru delighted to wear uniform and arms, and practise, and induce others to practise, archery and musket-shooting. His handsome exterior was much admired both by men and women.

One day as he was seated in darbar some new converts to the Sikh faith came to do him homage. Among them was a Sikh, who had a daughter called Sundari, of marriageable age. He proposed to the Guru to wed her and make her the slave of his feet.

The Guru did not desire the alliance, but it was pressed on him by his mother, and not long afterwards the Guru's nuptials were solemnized.[1]

We have already seen that Raja Ram of Asam implored Guru Teg Bahadur's intercession for a son, and a prince called Ratan Rai was duly born to him. Raja Ram died when his son was only seven years old. When Ratan Rai attained the age of twelve, he felt an inclination to see the son of the Guru by whose mediation he had been born. He accordingly, with his mother and several of his ministers, proceeded to Anandpur. He took with him as an offering five horses with golden trappings, a very small but sagacious elephant, a weapon out of which five sorts of arms could be made—first a pistol, then by pressing a spring a sword, then a lance, then a dagger, and finally a club—a throne from which, by pressing a spring, puppets emerged and played chaupar, a drinking cup of great value, and several costly and beautiful jewels and raiment.

The Raja was received in great state. He offered his presents, prayed the Guru to grant him the Sikh faith and sincerity, so that his love might be ever centred in the Guru's feet. The Guru granted all his desires. The Raja exhibited the excellence and advantages of all his presents. He showed how five weapons could be made out of one, he unloosened the puppets from the throne and set them playing chaupar. He caused the elephant to wipe the Guru's shoes and place them in order for him. The Guru at the Raja's suggestion discharged an arrow. The elephant went and fetched it. The animal held a jug of water from which the Guru's feet were washed, and then wiped them with a towel. At the

[1] A learned Sikh informs us that Sundari, a word which means the beautiful, frequently applied to the heroines of Indian history, was an epithet of Jīto and not a second wife of the Guru. The same learned Sikh thinks that Jīto, who was generally known as Sundari, did not die in Anandpur, but lived in Dihli after the demise of Guru Gobind Singh.

word of command he took a chauri and waved it over the Guru. At night he took two lighted torches in his trunk, and showed the Guru and the Raja their homeward ways. In due time the Raja bade farewell to the Guru, and on his departure requested him never to let the elephant out of his possession.

Several men went to the Guru for enlistment, and his army rapidly increased. He now set about the construction of a big drum, without which he deemed his equipment would be incomplete. The work was entrusted to Nand Chand. When the masands found that it was nearly ready they said that when Bhim Chand, the king of the country, heard it, he would be wroth, and not suffer the Guru and his Sikhs to abide in the locality.[1] Afraid, however, to make a representation to the Guru himself, they went to his mother Gujari and expressed their sentiments: 'The Guru's expenditure on works of charity and philanthropy is already great, and now he is increasing his army and building a large drum. When the hill chiefs hear it beaten, they will regard it as a symbol of conquest and engage in battle with the Sikhs. He is daily adding to the number of his soldiers. Be pleased, O lady, to restrain him.' This speech convinced the Guru's mother. She sent for her brother Kripal, and begged him to dissuade her son from completing the drum. Kripal said he could not take it on himself to make any such representation to the Guru. She must do so herself. She accordingly spoke to her son next morning in the terms used by the masands to her. She added, 'Our business is with religion, for which humility is required. Even if thou complete the drum, beat it not in public.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, how long shall I remain in concealment? I am not going to take forcible possession of the hill rajas' territories. If they are jealous for nothing, and allow their hearts to rankle,

[1] In former times a rāja might not beat a drum within another rāja's territory, for beating a drum was a symbol of sovereignty.

I cannot help it. This is the Guru's castle where men shall obtain their deserts.'

On this the Guru rose and went to inquire if the drum were ready. If not, its completion must be expedited. The masands then made a direct representation : 'Great King, first consider the resources of the enemy. They are kings and possess armies, wealth, and munitions of war. It is therefore not advisable to contend with them. What a number of troubles befell thy grandfather in his military career ! Wherefore thou hast need of peace. Our Guru's business is with the Sikhism of his country ; war is the rôle of kings.'

The Guru replied, ' How shall I conceal myself from those hillmen ? I have received the immortal God's order to disclose myself, and you tell me to remain in concealment. I must obey God's order, not yours. I have prepared the drum because my army would have no prestige without it. Even if Bhim Chand, Raja of Kahlur, and the other hill rajas grow angry, are we who sit here women ? We too shall meet sword with sword. If they keep the peace, so shall we. We shall soon see what the hillmen intend. .When we go hunting, we shall take the drum with us, and beat it aloud on arriving at the base of the mountain.'

The Guru celebrated with prayers and the distribution of sacred food the completion of the big drum, which he called Ranjit, or victorious on the battle-field. When it was beaten, the men and women of the city went forth to behold it, and there was great rejoicing. The Guru and his men, in full panoply, went hunting the same day. When the party arrived near Bilaspur, the capital of Kahlur, the Guru's drummer beat the drum with much energy and ostentation. It sounded like thunder to the hillmen, who at once apprehended that some potentate nad come to take possession of their country. Raja Bhim Chand consulted his

prime minister who said, 'It is Guru Gobind Rai, the tenth Guru in succession to Guru Nanak, who hath arrived. His father purchased some land[1] at the base of the Tung mountain, and built a village thereon. Thousands of worshippers come to him from great distances. It is only recently that the Raja of Asam came to visit him and presented him large offerings. He hath constructed a drum and come shooting here. My advice is to keep on good terms with him. In the first place, he is worthy of worship, secondly, he maintaineth a large army and is greatly feared. Thirdly, he is very brave, and such men are sometimes useful as allies.'

On hearing this Raja Bhim Chand determined to go to meet the Guru, and dispatched his prime minister to arrange for the interview. The minister informed the Guru that his master, who was the head of all the hill chiefs, desired to meet him, and it would be well for the Guru to be on good terms with him. Bhai Kripal, the Guru's uncle, at a nod from the Guru replied, 'This is the Guru's castle. As any one treateth him, so shall he be treated. If any one come here with good intentions, he shall be well received; but if he come as an enemy, he shall be treated accordingly. For men to be on good terms with one another is very expedient and commendable. Wherefore go and bring your Raja. We shall receive him with great respect.' The minister taking with him a robe of honour—the Guru's gift—returned to his master, and recommended him to proceed immediately to the interview. The Raja accordingly went with his courtiers and escort to Anandpur.

Raja Bhim Chand was received in darbar with great honour by the Guru, who invited him to tell him the whole circumstances of the hill chiefs. Bhim Chand gave him the desired information, and then prayed the Guru to let him see the presents

[1] This is mentioned in the Life of Guru Teg Bahādur.

from the king of Asam. The Guru at that interview showed him all the presents, except the elephant. Next morning the Guru had a costly tent erected which had been sent him from Kabul by an enthusiastic Sikh named Duni Chand, and prepared to receive Bhim Chand in it at the second interview. With the Guru were his relations, courtiers, and principal wrestlers and warriors. When Bhim Chand saw the Kabuli tent he was astonished at its magnificence. In reply to his inquiry he was told that it had cost two and a half lakhs of rupees, and that it was the offering of a pious Sikh. During this conversation the elephant, beautifully decorated, was led forward. Bhim Chand expressed his unbounded admiration of all that he had seen and heard. On his homeward journey his mind burned with envy of the Guru's state and wealth, and he considered how he could take possession of all his valuables. On reflection, however, he came to the conclusion that he would be satisfied with the elephant, and he determined to have the animal whether by force or stratagem.

On his arrival in his capital he unfolded his design to his courtiers, and asked them to suggest how possession of the elephant could be obtained. After some discussion it was agreed that a message should be sent to the Guru to the effect that an embassy was coming from Srinagar in the present British Garhwal district, with the object of betrothing the daughter of its Raja, Fatah Shah, to Bhim Chand's son ; and Bhim Chand desired to borrow the elephant so as to make a display of wealth to his guests. It was accordingly decided that the Guru should be requested to lend the elephant for the purpose. When the Guru received this message he knew that it was simply a trick to obtain permanent possession of the animal. He thought to himself, ' If I refuse the elephant, it means war, and if I send him it also means war, as I must resort to force for his

recovery.' He accordingly replied to Bhim Chand's message, 'The raja who presented me with the elephant requested me not to let the animal go out of my possession; and it is a principle of the Guru's house to comply with such requests. I have another elephant, and should Raja Bhim Chand require him he may take him.' The messenger seeing that there was no chance of obtaining the desired elephant hastened to return to Bilaspur.

The Guru's message was delivered with the addition that he did not seem afraid of any of the hill chiefs. Raja Bhim Chand, much incensed, consulted his prime minister, who advised him not to provoke a quarrel with the Guru. Bhim Chand angrily retorted, and charged his minister with age and cowardice. The Guru had shown contempt for him, and was he to calmly endure it? Upon this the minister advised his master to become a Sikh, receive initiation from the Guru, and all would be well. Bhim Chand replied, 'I am an idolater. I daily perform the tarpan,[1] and repeat the sandhia [2] and the gayatri. How can I forsake my religion, and become a Sikh of the Guru? In the first place, I cannot as a Hindu be on good terms with a man who hath discarded our holy faith. Secondly, none of the hill rajas hath become a Sikh, and they would all laugh at me were I to change my religion. They would say that I did it with the mercenary object of obtaining the elephant. In the third place, no men of high caste have joined the Guru. His followers are carriers, barbers, fishermen, washermen, sweepers, and similar nondescript persons. I am a great king of distinguished Rajput ancestors. How can I become the Guru's follower and stand before him with clasped hands in supplication? If he give

[1] A daily ceremony of the Hindus, in which water is presented to the manes of deceased ancestors.

[2] Prayers read by pious Hindus at morning and evening twilight. Sometimes similar prayers are offered at noon.

me not the elephant by peaceable means, I will take the animal by force. The Guru is already on bad terms with the Emperor, and, if he fall out with me also, he cannot abide here. He is still a mere boy ; arms are new to his hands. When I show him what I can do, he will know who I am and renounce his pride.'

Saying this Bhim Chand ordered his chief police officer to go to the Guru, and try to obtain the elephant by soft and persuasive words. If these failed, the Guru was to be threatened with the strength of Bhim Chand's army. The police officer went on his mission and addressed the Guru as directed. The Guru calmly replied, ' Thou givest one advice to me to lend the elephant, and another to Bhim Chand not to restore him.' Upon this the police officer knew that the Guru could divine the secrets of others and begged his forgiveness. The Guru then said, ' Tell the raja that if he have faith in the Guru and if his intentions be honest, the Guru can grant him what he desireth ; but if he practise fraud and deceit, the Guru can protect his own interests. The Guru knoweth the secrets of men's hearts, and thou canst not deceive him. When thou talkest of the strength of the raja's army, know that there is nothing wanting on the Guru's side either. The Guru is already prepared for battle. The Sikhs are not women, and they have had long practice in martial exercises.' The police officer departed and delivered this message to Bhim Chand, who decided that he would wait till the time had actually arrived for his son's marriage, and then he would repeat his request for the elephant, and add to it an application for the magnificent Kabuli tent also.

Chapter II

The Guru continued to hunt and practise arms. Companies of Sikhs used continually to visit him and make him offerings. Those who came for military service were received without reservation, and taught the profession of arms. In this way the Guru soon collected a considerable army. The masands continued their opposition and again went to complain to the Guru's mother. They represented to her, 'The Guru is very young, and hath no worldly experience. He hath stirred up strife between himself and the hill Raja. He hath no ally, for the Emperor beareth him no love. He hath taken the unprecedented course of refusing on two occasions Bhim Chand's request for the loan of the elephant. These hill chiefs are not afraid to fight and die. Wherefore, advise thy son that it is not politic to contend with them. If war begin, how shall Sikhs come with their offerings? And where shall we procure supplies for our public kitchen?'

When the Guru's mother remonstrated with him as thus advised, he replied, 'Mother dear, I have been sent by the immortal God. He who worshippeth Him shall be happy; but he who acteth dishonestly and worshippeth stones shall receive well-merited retribution. This is my commission from God. If to-day I give Raja Bhim Chand the elephant, I shall have to pay him tribute to-morrow. He essayeth to terrify me, but I only fear the immortal God and know none beside.'

Nand Chand then joined in the conference: 'Lady, hath a lion ever feared jackals? Hath any one ever seen the light of the firefly in bright sunshine? What availeth a drop of water in comparison with the ocean? The Guru is a tiger brave and splendid as the sun. Shall he fear Bhim Chand? When the foolish hillmen who are like mosquitoes contend

with the Guru, they shall become acquainted with our strength and suffer the mortification of a late repentance.' Bhai Kripal then interposed : 'Sister dear, Nand Chand understandeth the Guru's pleasure.' The Guru ended the discussion by saying, 'Mother dear, heed not the evil advice of the masands. They have become cowards from surreptitiously eating the offerings of the Sikhs.'

The Guru, knowing Nand Chand to be brave and skilful in war, made him his finance minister. Moreover, Nand Chand's father had done service for Guru Teg Bahadur, and the family was known to be loyal to the Gurus. Pay was due to the troops, and tact and skilful management of them were necessary. Kripal accordingly highly approved of the Guru's resolve, and accepted Nand Chand as the Guru's finance minister. Nand Chand was invested with a robe of honour, and appointed to his high position with all due formalities.

The Guru and his troops continued to practise archery and devote themselves to the chase. When the other hill rajas heard of this and of the Guru's difference with Bhim Chand, they began to fan the flame of enmity, thinking that they would be more secure themselves if the Guru and Bhim Chand exhausted their strength on contests with each other. Kripal, the Raja of Kangra, sent Raja Bhim Chand a message, 'Fear not, I am with you. The Guru is raising an army. Thou oughtest consequently to be on thy guard against him. There cannot be two kings in one state. Wherefore it is proper for thee to expel him with all expedition.' Bhim Chand replied that peace was the best thing if it could be maintained; otherwise he would welcome his friend's assistance and expel the Guru.

Raja Kripal then with exquisite treachery sent the following message to the Guru : 'Great king, fortunate are we that thou hast come to dwell in this land. I have heard that thou hast some dis-

agreement with Bhim Chand. That fool knoweth not thy greatness. Assert thyself and bring him to reason by the sword. I will be thine ally. Directly thine order reacheth me, I shall be found fully prepared.' To this the Guru merely replied, 'This is Guru Nanak's house, where men shall be treated as they deserve.' Raja Kripal's envoy took note of the Guru's intelligence, determination, and material strength, and on returning to his master informed him that the Guru would certainly not yield to Bhim Chand without a struggle.

The time for the marriage of Fatah Shah's daughter to Bhim Chand's son was now approaching, so Bhim Chand decided to ask the Guru again to lend him the elephant and other articles of display for the occasion. He accordingly sent his brother-in-law, Kesari Chand, Raja of Jaswal, and a Brahman, with orders to bring what he desired by all possible means. They requested the Guru to lend Bhim Chand the throne, the elephant, the Kabuli tent, and the five-fold weapon. The family priest promised that the loan should be returned with a present of 4,000 rupees. On this the Guru said, 'Am I a shop-keeper that I should take hire for what I lend?' Kesari Chand remonstrated, 'O Guru, thou livest by offerings. Thou art not a landowner, thou hast no kingdom, no fief from which thou mayest derive income, and offerings of this description have doubt-less often been made thee.' The Guru on hearing this declined further parley and abruptly dismissed the envoys.

The masands again complained to the Guru's mother: 'The Guru's action is impolitic. Bhim Chand's army will come and plunder Anandpur. The Guru is still a boy and hath never seen real warfare, though he ever babbleth of it. At one time he saith, "We will destroy the oppressive Turks." Again he saith, "I will give the whole country from Lahore to Peshawar as a kingdom to my

Sikhs." Advise thy son to cease uttering such irritating language.' His mother duly remonstrated with him : ' My son, why art thou stirring up strife ? Send thy minister Nand Chand and thy uncle Kripal to make peace, otherwise an army of hillmen will attack us immediately. Whither shall we go if we are obliged to depart hence ? Thy father purchased this land, and came here to live in retirement and peace.'

The Guru replied : ' The hillmen have now come to beg with the humility of goats, but when they have received what they have asked for, they will assume the bravery of tigers. On this account why should we not take measures for our own safety ? Mother dear, if we now betray fear of them, they will soon be ready to devour us. They will only respect us when we show them the sword. If thou show a stick to a barking dog, he will fear to continue his barking. We cannot remain subject to such people. If they play the part of aggressors, I will show them what the Guru can do. The immortal God hath sent me into the world to uproot evil and protect from tyranny the weak and oppressed.' On hearing this the Guru's mother retired in sorrow to her apartment, and the Guru proceeded to don his arms and coat of mail.

When Raja Bhim Chand's envoys returned to their master, they repeated the Guru's message with marginal additions of their own. Bhim Chand became very angry and addressed the Guru the following letter : ' If thou desire to dwell in Anandpur, send the elephant quickly. If thou agree not to this, I will take an army, plunder and assail thy disciples of both sexes, expel them from the country, and imprison thee. To save thyself, however, from all these painful consequences, thou mayest immediately depart from my state.' The Guru on perusing this letter smiled and said to his friends, ' I accept the alternative of war which he offereth me.' He

sent Bhim Chand a reply to this effect, and ordered Nand Chand to make immediate preparation for defence.

When Bhim Chand received the Guru's letter he called his brother hill chiefs to a council of war, and informed them of his negotiations with the Guru. He was himself, he said, for open hostilities. Raja Kripal, however, counselled deliberation. He urged, 'Thou hast now made all preparations for thy son's marriage, and it is not time for war. Should any relation of thine be killed, thy rejoicings will be changed unto mourning. It is not well to die at a time of festivity, or sing songs of joy at a funeral.' The other hill chiefs who were summoned to the council and also Bhim Chand's prime minister were precisely of the same opinion. The contemplated war was consequently adjourned. Raja Kripal then suggested that, when the bridegroom's party went to Srinagar, they should induce Raja Fatah Shah to ally himself with them and take up arms against the Guru.

Meantime the Guru himself was making all preparations to meet his opponents. He caused it to be publicly known that he would be grateful to all who brought him arms and horses, and his appeal met with a ready response.

Raja Medani Parkash of Nahan at this time sent an envoy to the Guru with an invitation to pay him a visit. He was sure the Guru would be pleased to see the Dun, or valley *par excellence*,[1] which enjoyed a cool climate and afforded abundant sport. Ram Rai, the Guru's relation, dwelt there, and found it a pleasant and agreeable residence. The Raja of Nahan had heard that Raja Bhim Chand was at enmity with the Guru, but Raja Bhim Chand knew not the Guru's greatness and would afterwards repent. The Raja of Nahan also desired the Guru's assistance, which would be useful to him in time of

[1] The Dūn lies between the Himālayas and the Siwālik range.

need, and accordingly warmly invited him to make a lengthened sojourn in his country. The Guru requested the envoy to wait a few days for an answer.

The masands were very pleased to hear of the Raja of Nahan's invitation and thought, if the Guru accepted it, there would be an end of the quarrel between him and Bhim Chand. They induced the Guru's mother to persuade him to visit the Raja. She told the Guru that after some time spent in Nahan he might return to Anandpur, after which she hoped there would be peace. The Guru accepted her advice and promised to start for Nahan on the morrow. By way of precaution he decided to take the whole of his trained army with him, and ordered Nand Chand to make all necessary arrangements for the march.

On the morrow the Guru caused his drum to be beaten as a signal for departure. He set out accompanied by his minister Nand Chand, his relations, and five hundred Udasi Sikhs. For the defence of Anandpur he left Suraj Mal's two grandsons, Gulab Rai and Sham Das, with a suitable guard. The Guru's first march was to Kiratpur, where he visited the shrine of his grandfather, Guru Har Gobind. After a few days' further journey he encamped at the foot of the Nahan mountain.

The Raja duly went to greet and welcome his distinguished guest. He took him to his palace, begged him to enjoy himself with the chase, and meanwhile design and superintend the building of a fort for the protection of the state. On one of the Raja's and the Guru's hunting excursions the subject was again mooted. The Raja explained that Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar, the capital of Garhwal, had often quarrelled with him over the ground on which they were then standing. He would therefore be very pleased when a fortress was constructed on the spot for protection against all enemies.

The Guru erected a tent and in company with

the Raja held a darbar. It was unanimously agreed that a fort was necessary for the protection of the country. The Raja accordingly requested the Guru to allow his army to assist in its construction, and he would send his own workmen and labourers for its speedy completion.

The Guru caused sacred food to be prepared, and praying to the Creator distributed it. He then laid the foundation stone of the fort. Such was the zeal and energy of the workmen that it was completed in twelve days. The Guru gave it the name of Paunta. He abode there, and continued to increase his army and enlist all Muhammadans as well as Hindus who presented themselves for service. All recruits as well as disciplined soldiers rendered willing aid in the construction of the building.

Chapter III

Ram Rai of Dehra Dun heard of the Guru's visit and of the construction of Paunta which was only about thirty miles distant from his residence. He apprehended that the Guru had come to punish him for his previous misdeeds, and he communicated his suspicions to his masands. Gurdas, who had accompanied Ram Rai to Dihli when sent there by Guru Har Rai, and who had remained with him ever since, urged that Guru Gobind Rai was not so vindictive and base as to take revenge. If, however, he manifested any signs of aggression, Gurdas's brother Tara, who was a warrior and skilful archer, would be able to oppose him and protect the city of Dehra Dun. Ram Rai replied that no one could contend with the Guru in archery. Even Bhim Chand hid himself in his castle through fear of the Guru's arrows. Should the Guru decide to take action against them, whither should they go for refuge? Gurdas rejoined, that if Ram Rai fled before there was even a semblance

of an attack, there would be several tales circulated to his discredit. The Guru subsequently hearing of his anxiety and wishing to remove it, sent Nand Chand and Daya Ram to reassure him. Ram Rai on receiving the Guru's message was delighted, invested the envoys with dresses of honour, and decided to remain on friendly terms with the martial son of Guru Teg Bahadur.

Budhu Shah, a Saiyid, who lived in Sadhaura, went with his disciples to pay a visit to the Guru and make him offerings. Budhu Shah represented himself as a great sinner, said that he should certainly have to render an account of his transgression hereafter, and why should he not be pardoned now by the Guru's mediation ? The Guru replied, 'Thou shalt not have to render an account hereafter. Guru Nanak hath procured thy pardon.' Budhu Shah remained for some time with the Guru, who conceived a great affection for him and vouchsafed him religious instruction suitable to his circumstances.

Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar in consultation with his ministers arrived at the conclusion that it would be politic to be on good terms with the Guru, and accordingly decided to visit him since he had approached so near his territory. When the Guru was apprised of his intention, he prepared a magnificent entertainment for his reception. Rich carpets were spread and minstrels engaged to contribute to the Raja's amusement and enhance his enjoyment of the feast. During the Raja's visit the Guru sent his uncle Kripal to him to suggest that it would be well if he and the Raja of Nahan also were on good terms. The Raja at once replied that he would act in all such matters as the Guru desired. The Guru then sent for the Raja of Nahan. He came and promised to forget his former enmity to the Raja of Srinagar. The Guru brought the two Rajas together in open court, caused them to embrace and promise eternal friendship.

Before the assembly was dissolved a hillman arrived with tidings of a fierce tiger which was destroying cattle in the neighbourhood. The messenger pressed the Guru to free the country from the pest. The Guru on the morrow took the two Rajas, together with Nand Chand and others, to where the tiger was reported to have his lair. The Guru asked the hillman who had brought the intelligence to lead the way. He guided the Guru and his party into a very dense forest. The tiger, which had been resting, awoke on hearing the tramp of the huntsmen's feet, and sat on his haunches looking at his pursuers with tranquil curiosity.

The Guru forbade a bullet or arrow to be discharged, and called on any one who deemed himself brave to engage the tiger with sword and shield. No one came forward in response to the challenge. Raja Fatah Shah addressed the Guru : 'Great king, this tiger is very strong and hath been for a long time in this forest. He hath destroyed several men and cattle. If any one had been able to cope with him, would he still be alive ? But as he is strong and thou too art mighty, why not engage him thyself ? Who but thee hath prowess to contend with sword and shield ?' Hearing this the Guru alighted from his horse and drew himself together for the attack. The Raja of Nahan interposed : 'O true Guru, why confront such a tiger ? We will shoot him with our matchlocks.' The Guru replied, 'See how I will deal with this tiger. I shall have no difficulty in killing him.' Saying this he took sword and shield, advanced, and challenged the tiger. The tiger rose with a roar and sprang at the Guru. The Guru received him on his shield and striking him on the flank with his sword cut him in twain. The Rajas and the hunting-party were naturally astonished and delighted at the Guru's strength and bravery and the result of the encounter.

The Guru took the opportunity to instruct his

friends : 'The tiger hath died like a hero and obtained deliverance. It is cowards who suffer transmigration. The brave enjoy celestial happiness. If a man die in battle, it should be with his face to the foe.' Next morning the two Rajas, leaving the Guru in Paunta, departed to their several capitals.

On Budhu Shah's return to his home in Sadhaura five hundred Pathans in uniform presented themselves before him one morning. They stated that they had been soldiers of the Emperor Aurangzeb, but for some trivial offence had been disbanded. No one would now receive them through fear of the Emperor. It occurred to Budhu Shah that the Guru, who had no fear of anybody, would be likely to accept their services in his army. He accordingly took them to the Guru who was delighted to enlist them. The Guru fixed a salary of five rupees per day for each officer and one rupee a day for each trooper. The officers' names were Haiyat Khan, Kale Khan, Nijabat Khan, and Bhikan Khan, men of whom we shall hear much hereafter.

An envoy about this time arrived from Ram Rai. When he was allowed to approach the Guru on the morning after his arrival, he saw the Guru's troops—some fencing, some practising archery, and others performing miscellaneous military exercises. The envoy told the Guru that Ram Rai desired to meet him, but could not go to Paunta, and did not desire the Guru to come to Dehra Dun. They could meet at some intermediate spot. Ram Rai had then a large following, and did not desire that his disciples should think he went as an inferior to the Guru, but at the same time he never hoped that the Guru would proceed to visit him. Hence his unusual request. The Guru consented to meet him on the margin of the Jamna on Sunday, the second day of the following month. The interview accordingly took place. When Ram Rai's companions saw him touch the Guru's feet, they said, 'See, Ram Rai does obeisance

to his rival,' and they made many remarks derogatory to the rank arrogated to himself by their spiritual guide.

The Guru and Ram Rai conversed on various matters, particularly on the Guru's relations with Raja Bhim Chand. At the end of the colloquy Ram Rai said, 'I am fortunate to have obtained a sight of thee; I have now but a brief time to live. My masands are very proud. When I am gone, protect my family and property. Thou art the sun of our race, and hast for many reasons assumed birth. The holy Guru Nanak made the name of the one God the sole raft to ferry mortals over the world's ocean, and by means of it men have obtained deliverance. But when in time the wind of evil passions blew, the raft striking on the rock of pride was foundered, and many souls were lost. My father Guru Har Rai used to say that some one would be born from our family who would restore and refit the vessel for the safe conveyance of souls. Accordingly thou hast come into the world for this special purpose.'

When the Guru after hearing this looked round, he saw all Ram Rai's men standing with their backs towards him and their master. The Guru then observed, 'Ram Rai's Sikhs who turn their backs on us are fools. They are not pleased with the sight even of their own guru, so he will not render them assistance hereafter.'

The Guru by his occult power knew Gurdas's boast that his brother Tara would be a match for him and protect Ram Rai's city against any aggression he might meditate. The Guru accordingly said to Gurdas, 'Tell thy brother to discharge an arrow in my presence. Thou saidst that thy brother could shoot like the Guru, and that no Guru could be so powerful as he.' Gurdas on thus being taken to task, begged the Guru's pardon, and was duly forgiven. The Guru then returned to Paunta where he

abode for a time composing poetry in its pleasant environment and salubrious climate.

The author of the *Suraj Parkash* gives the method of the Guru's composition. He used to rise early, bathe, walk along the bank of the river Jamna sufficiently far to obtain complete privacy and ensure himself against interruption. He would then sit down and compose poetry for three hours. He first translated from Sanskrit the history of Krishan avatar.[1] The translation is generally in quatrains adorned with similes and metaphors. The Guru delighted to describe the sports of Krishah, the circular dances performed by him and the milk-maids, and his special devotion to Radhika his queen. It was further to the south, on the margin of the same river, that Krishan disported himself and performed those great feats which have secured him deification among the Hindus. The Guru in his 'Ras Mandal' or description of the circular dance of Krishan made an acrostic out of the thirty-five letters of the Gurumukhi alphabet. The letters do not begin but end the verses. At intervals in his literary labour he used to watch the river rolling over its shingly bed, and admire its sparkling foam and blue wavelets.

Some time after the Guru's visit Ram Rai fell into a trance, and in that state was cremated by the masands in defiance of the prayers and entreaties of his wife Panjab Kaur. The masands then proceeded to take possession of his property and of the offerings intended for him; and each began to proclaim himself guru. Panjab Kaur, through the agency of Gurdas, who had remained faithful to her, sent a letter to Guru Gobind Rai to inform him of the circumstances, and to pray for his advice and assistance. She then invited all the masands to

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut IJ, Chapter 4. Some learned Sikhs are of opinion that the translation was really made by one of the Guru's bards named Syām, whose name frequently occurs in it.

a feast on a certain day which she had fixed on for the appointment of a successor to her husband, and promised to the deserving dresses of honour on the occasion.

When the masands arrived they each presented a claim to spiritual authority. One man would say, 'I want to be appointed guru of a certain country.' Another would say, 'I want to be appointed guru of another country.' When all the masands had arrived, Panjab Kaur sent to inform the Guru. The Guru at once ordered his troops to prepare for an expedition. On the morrow he proceeded with them to Dehra, leaving sufficient men to guard Paunta. When the masands saw the Guru, their faces grew pale and they asked one another why he had come. The Guru and Ram Rai, they said, were in opposition to each other, but perhaps the Guru had come to condole with the widow on her husband's death. In any case the masands made certain that the Guru would only stay for a day or two, as Panjab Kaur would be unable to provide supplies for him and his army for any length of time.

Next day Panjab Kaur requested the Guru to punish the masands. Some of them suspected what was in store for them, but fate was too powerful to allow of their absconding. The Guru recalled to memory all their crimes and misdemeanours. They used to go to the houses of Sikhs to take intoxicants, and frequent the society of courtesans. They used to boast that the Guru was of their own making, and, if they did not serve him, no one would even look at him. They practised oppression in every form; they embezzled offerings made to the Guru and committed many other enormities. The Guru accordingly meted out condign punishment to the guilty among them, and rewarded those who had remained faithful to Panjab Kaur. He then returned to Paunta.

Chapter IV

The Guru set about extending Paunta and beautifying it with gardens and pleasure grounds. One day as he was sitting in his garden, he received an invitation[1] from Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar to his daughter's marriage with the son of Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur. The Guru declined the invitation on the ground that Bhim Chand was at enmity with him and a disturbance might result were the two to meet. The Guru, however, promised to send his finance minister with some troops to represent him. He accordingly gave orders to Diwan Nand Chand to hold himself in readiness and at the same time to provide a necklace of the value of one lakh and a quarter of rupees as a marriage present for Raja Fatah Shah's daughter.

Nand Chand on his departure said to the Guru, 'I go in obedience to thine order, but if Raja Bhim Chand force a quarrel on me, it may be difficult for me to return.' The Guru replied, 'As the immortal God will take thee thither, so will He restore thee to me. Have no anxiety on that account.' Nand Chand set out according to order with five hundred horse for Srinagar. The Raja sent officers some distance to receive him, and offered him suitable quarters within the city. Nand Chand urged diplomatic reasons for not accepting the accommodation provided, but his real object was to encamp outside the city, so that he and his troops might be free to escape if treacherously attacked. Accordingly a spot on the road to Paunta was at his request assigned him for his camp.

Raja Bhim Chand, Raja Kesari Chand, Raja Gopal, Raja Hari Chand, and the Rajas of Kangra, Mandi, and Suket, proceeded in great state to Srinagar. On

[1] In former times an invitation to a marriage was made by sending a piece of red string and some sweets.

their way they halted on the margin of the Jamna not far from Paunta. There Raja Bhim Chand heard that the Guru with his forces was encamped at the ferry of Rajghat four miles distant, and had made preparations to obstruct his progress. Bhim Chand accordingly considered what was to be done under the circumstances. He knew the Guru to be very brave, and he also knew the enmity he bore him. If Raja Bhim Chand went straight on, he would have to contend with the Guru's troops ; and if he went by a circuitous route to another ferry, he could not arrive in time for the wedding.

In this difficulty Raja Bhim Chand consulted his brother rajas, and recalled to their memory all the circumstances connected with his negotiations with the Guru. He had deferred making war on account of his son's approaching marriage, but the very circumstance that he had apprehended now occurred, for the Guru was on the way to obstruct his progress and hinder his crossing the Jamna at Rajghat. Various counsels were given, which were all rejected. At last Bhim Chand decided to send his prime minister to the Guru to represent that his son's marriage was about to be celebrated, and it was no time for a clash of arms which would turn joy into sorrow. The prime minister received instructions to present all this in the form of a respectful request to the Guru. If it failed, he was then to inform him of the names of the rajas who were with the marriage procession. It was thus hoped that, even if the Guru rejected the respectful request, he would hesitate to attack so many powerful chiefs.

When the hill rajas' envoy reached the Guru he said, ' O true Guru, Raja Bhim Chand with the hill rajas hath come with his son's marriage procession, and they request thy permission to pass. They ordered me to entreat thee with clasped hands to consider this as the marriage of thine own son.' The Guru replied, ' O envoy, there is no reliance to

be placed on these false hill rajas. While uttering sweet words, they harbour enmity in their hearts. Therefore tell them from me that they may come this way if they are brave ; but, if they are cowards, they may take another route, in which case I will not molest them. Raja Bhim Chand threatened to come and attack me at Anandpur. I will myself proceed thither when I have vanquished him.'

When the Guru's determination was communicated to Raja Bhim Chand and the other hill chiefs, there ensued a long discussion as to the best course of action. It was at last decided that the bridegroom should be sent with a few high officials to request the Guru to allow him safe conduct for the purpose of his marriage, and that the rest of the marriage procession should go to Srinagar by a circuitous route. Bhim Chand vowed that after the celebration of the marriage he would take revenge on the Guru for his conduct, and bring Raja Fatah Shah to dislodge him from his position.

When Raja Bhim Chand's son with his escort reached the Guru, he said, 'O true Guru, thy name is cherisher of those who seek thy protection, and I do so now. Had my father thought that thou wert likely to molest me, he would never have sent me hither. As I am his son, so I am now thine. I am altogether at thy mercy.' The Guru compassionated the youth, and at once allowed him to proceed to Srinagar for the due performance of his marriage rites.

When the bridegroom and his small party informed Raja Fatah Shah of what had occurred, he felt sore grieved at the impediment placed by the Guru in the way of his daughter's marriage. Before the hill chiefs had yet arrived, Diwan Nand Chand desired to offer the Guru's wedding present, and then take his early departure. Raja Fatah Shah replied, 'You may offer me the Guru's present when all the rajas are assembled.'

When Raja Bhim Chand and the other hill chiefs arrived, Nand Chand was anxious to present the Guru's wedding gift and leave Srinagar as early as possible. The herald in attendance proclaimed: 'Guru Gobind Rai, who is seated on Guru Nanak's throne, hath presented jewellery to the value of a lakh and a quarter of rupees as dowry to Fatah Shah's daughter.' Raja Bhim Chand on hearing this became enraged and said, 'Witness all ye people. My *kurm*[1] is friendly to the Guru, and taketh a marriage present from him, though he is an enemy of mine. I must therefore refuse to accept Fatah Shah's daughter for my son.' The Raja of Kangra said to the speaker, 'It is not well to act in haste. Send thy minister to Raja Fatah Shah, and ask him if he will take the initiative in a war with the Guru. If so, he is one of us, and we will conclude the alliance with him. If, however, he refuse to attack the Guru, then we will not accept his daughter.'

On this Raja Kesari Chand and Raja Bhim Chand's minister went to Raja Fatah Shah, told him all the circumstances, and said that if he did not go to war with the Guru, he should be considered an enemy not only of Raja Bhim Chand, but of all the hill chiefs. Raja Fatah Shah was much perplexed on receiving this message, and saw that trouble awaited him on every side. He replied, 'It is a great sin to fight with a man who obviously manifesteth his friendship. The Guru is my greatest friend. How shall I engage in a conflict with him without reason? Raja Bhim Chand is at enmity with the Guru without any just cause. If one man make a request and another cannot comply, what ground of enmity is that? Come with me, and I will make peace between the Guru and Raja Bhim Chand.'

When Raja Bhim Chand was informed of this he caused the drum of departure to be beaten. When

[1] Son's father-in-law. There is no one word in English for this relationship.

his horses were saddled and all preparation made he sent his minister with an ultimatum to Fatah Shah, ' Raja Bhim Chand now breaks off his son's marriage with thy daughter. On this account thou shalt suffer much obloquy. The Guru is here to-day and gone to-morrow. Thou hast no kinship to break with him, so why break with thine affianced relations ? ' Fatah Shah was weakly overcome by this representation, and promised to act as Raja Bhim Chand desired. Raja Bhim Chand, who was already on horseback, alighted on hearing Fatah Shah's change of determination and went to him. Fatah Shah then renewed his promise to act according to Bhim Chand's wishes and join him in making war on the Guru.

Meanwhile Nand Chand managed to secure his property, including the Guru's unaccepted wedding present, and prepared for his homeward journey. On hearing this Raja Bhim Chand sent five hundred horse to intercept him and seize whatever he had in his possession. Raja Bhim Chand promised the leader of the detachment to send more troops to his assistance as soon as possible. When Nand Chand's troops found their way obstructed, they began to reflect that they were few, while the hillmen were many, and they meditated flight or coalition with the enemy. On this a brave Sikh spoke out, ' What are you soldiers meditating ? On your departure for Srinagar the true Guru promised that as the immortal God would conduct you to your destination, so would He restore you to your homes in safety. Put faith in the Guru's words.' This short speech inspired the Sikhs with courage, and shouting ' Sat Sri Akal ! Sat Sri Akal ! '—True is the immortal God, true is the immortal God—prepared for the conflict.

Nand Chand also addressed cheering words to his men. He assured them that the army in front of them was weak, and his men might fearlessly advance. They obeyed, and when within gunshot discharged

a volley at the hillmen which threw their ranks into disorder. Nand Chand then shouted to the hill troops, 'Why waste your lives in vain? The army which was to reinforce you hath not arrived. Fly!' On hearing this the hillmen dispersed in every direction. Their reinforcing army, which was approaching, heard the sound of the Sikhs' muskets and feared to advance. Moreover, Raja Bhim Chand's troops would never fight unless commanded by himself. The result was that Nand Chand and his troops safely returned to Paunta, and offered their obeisance and congratulations to the Guru. Nand Chand gave him an account of what had occurred since his departure for Srinagar, and advised him to hold himself in readiness, for the hill rajas with Fatah Shah would certainly repeat their aggression. Upon this the Guru ordered ammunition to be served out to his army. It now became a question whether the Guru would wait for the enemy near Paunta, or advance to intercept their progress. The Guru's uncle said that the enemy would come by Bhangani between the Jamna and the Giri,[1] and it would be best to select Bhangani, which was six miles distant, for the field of battle. The Guru approved of this plan of operations.

During Nand Chand's stay in Srinagar a merchant arrived there with one hundred horses which he had purchased in Kashmir for the Guru. Nand Chand had a difficulty in saving them from Bhim Chand's rapacity, and succeeded in taking them to Paunta. He now informed the Guru that the horses were present and at his disposal. The gift was a very opportune one, and the Guru expressed his highest satisfaction with the merchant. He distributed the horses among selected Sikhs. There was nothing now heard but warlike preparations and conversations. The Sikhs, who in the words of the Sikh chronicler, watched for the enemy as a tiger for his

[1] Not far from the city of Rājpura on the Mansūri (Mussoorie) road.

prey, enjoyed in anticipation the approaching battle, and vaunted that they would expel all the hill rajas and take possession of their territories.

Raja Bhim Chand reproached his troops for failing to arrest the departure of Nand Chand's detachment, and asked them if they had occupied their time in feasting on honey or doing their duty. He said, however, that he would forget the past if they promised amendment in the future. He then sent word to Fatah Shah to go and do battle with the Guru according to his promise. Fatah Shah, in order to please him, served out ammunition and beat the drum of war. His soldiers buckled on their swords, and slung their guns over their shoulders. Fatah Shah propitiated the goddess of his state, and putting himself at the head of his troops advanced to the combat.

As already stated, the Guru's army except the five hundred Pathans recently taken into his service on the recommendation of Budhu Shah, exulted in the prospect of battle. The Pathans took council with one another, and Bhikan Khan, one of their officers, said, 'The Guru's main dependence is on us. The rest of his army is a miscellaneous rabble who have never seen war, and will run away when they hear the first shot fired. Then the brunt of the battle will fall on us, and we shall be responsible for defeat. Why waste our lives in vain? Let us go to the Guru and ask permission to return to our homes.'

Kale Khan, another of the Pathan officers, stoutly resisted the proposal: 'You are untrue to your salt. Are you not ashamed to think of running away when your employer is involved in serious warfare? Nobody will trust you in the future; and when you die, you shall be condemned to the abode of sorrow of which our holy prophet tells. You are a disgrace to the Pathan race.' Bhikan Khan rejoined, 'O Kale Khan, remain thou loyal to the Guru. If any of us

have business at home, why should he not go there ? Why should he die an untimely death ? Stay thou with the Guru and earn such advancement as he may confer on thee.' On hearing this Kale Khan detached himself from the Pathans, and adhered to his allegiance to the Guru.

Nijabat Khan and Haiyat Khan sided with the majority under Bhikan Khan, and proceeded to the Guru to ask on behalf of themselves and their followers leave to depart to their homes. One man had a child born to him, another was to be betrothed, a third was to be married, the mother of a fourth was dead, &c., &c., and all would suffer irrevocable disgrace were they not to return to their homes at once. They accordingly requested the Guru to settle their accounts and pay the balance of their salaries due to them. The Guru replied, 'This is not a time to ask for leave. The enemy is upon us, and yet you desire to forsake me. If any one of you wish to marry, let him first marry battle, and then proceed to his home and celebrate marriage with his betrothed. In that case I will largely reward you.'

The Pathans again represented : 'It is incumbent on us to go to our homes in case of births, deaths, and marriages. Otherwise we could never show our faces again to our relations. We must therefore depart.' To this the Guru replied, 'Be loyal to your sovereign ; leave death and life in the hands of God. Desert not your posts, abandon not your duty, and you shall be happy in this world and the next. If you die in battle, you shall obtain glory to which not even monarchs can aspire. Shame not your sires and your race. He who forsaketh his master in battle shall be dishonoured here and condemned hereafter. The vultures, knowing him to be disloyal, will not touch but spurn his flesh. He shall not go to heaven hereafter, nor obtain glory here ; abundant disgrace shall light upon his head. Be assured of this that

human birth shall be profitable to him who loseth his life with his face to the foe. For all the drops of blood that fall from his body, so many years shall he enjoy the company of his God.'[1]

The Guru offered double pay, which the Pathans refused; then triple, then quadruple. All the Guru's overtures were rejected. The Pathans replied, 'Money is a thing to be distributed among relations; but if relations fall out, of what use is money?' Kripal then addressed them, 'O fools, you are afraid to fight, and are only inventing excuses. Having eaten the Guru's salt you are untrue to it, and are reflecting dishonour on the Pathan race. A curse on your pay and on yourselves!' Kripal then quoted the texts from Bhai Gur Das's Wars against ingratitude.

Finding all remonstrance useless, Kripal recommended the Guru to dismiss the wretches from his service. The Guru again addressed the mutinous men: 'You appear like tigers, but you have only the spirit of jackals.' The Pathans cast down their eyes and said in reply, 'O great king, say what thou pleasest. We will serve thee no longer. We are not thy prisoners. Why tauntest thou us?' The Guru replied, 'Leave my presence; the immortal God will assist me.' When the Pathans, having received their salary from the Guru, went to their tents to make preparations for their departure, Kale Khan again advised them to serve the Guru for one year more. At the end of that time they should be wealthy men. Bhikan Khan replied, 'The Guru is evidently afraid of the enemy. If we want money, let us go and fight on the side of the hillmen and obtain their permission to plunder the Guru. The hillmen have not the same information regarding his treasure as we have. Accordingly, we shall be at the rear during the battle and at the front during the plunder. We

[1] Sukha Singh's *Gur Bilās*, Chapter vi, and *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut II, Chapter 20.

will then go straight to our homes taking with us all we can seize.'

This advice of Bhikan Khan was applauded by the Pathans. They accordingly sent five of their men to negotiate with Raja Fatah Shah, and tell him they would all serve him without pay if they were allowed to plunder the Guru. Moreover, their leaving the Guru would ruin him as they were the only fighting men he had. In fact, on their departure there would be none to fight on his side, and Fatah Shah would gain a bloodless victory. Fatah Shah was highly pleased, and at once gave the Pathans written permission to appropriate the Guru's property. When the document was shown to the body of the Pathans, they set about saddling their horses to join Fatah Shah's standard. Kale Khan again remonstrated and threatened the mutineers, but in vain. Some further overtures of the Guru were also rejected. The upshot was that the Guru's soldiers, who were only waiting for his order, expelled the mutinous Pathans from his camp. Kale Khan remained with the troop of one hundred men of whom he had been originally in command.

The Guru lost no time in informing Budhu Shah of the misconduct of the mutinous Pathan soldiers whom he had introduced and recommended to him. Budhu Shah felt their behaviour a personal disgrace to himself. He sought to remove it, and also gain spiritual advantage by assisting the Guru. He accordingly placed himself, his brother, his four sons, and seven hundred disciples at the Guru's disposal.

CHAPTER V

When the Pathans joined Raja Fatah Shah, he asked them what the Guru, whose pay they had been receiving and whose salt they had been eating, must think of them after their desertion. Bhikan Khan

replied, 'Great king, the Guru is greatly afraid of thee. He only declared war on thee through reliance on us. He offered us shields full of rupees, but we refused and came to thee. He hath only eight men who know how to fight. These are his five cousins, his uncle Kripal, Diwan Nand Chand, and Bhai Daya Ram. The others who are with him are the dregs of the populace, and know not even how to handle a sword. We Pathans shall be too many for them, so it will not be necessary for thy troops to engage at all. The Guru hath treasure exceeding that of an emperor.' On this Fatah Shah remarked that Providence was kind to him in having already granted him victory. He repeated his promise to the Pathans that they might go and plunder the Guru, and, if he himself possibly could, he would generously reward them out of his own resources also.

The Guru's scouts, who had been sent to Bhangani, reported that the enemy were marching to the attack. He must therefore proceed at once to intercept them, otherwise they would enter Paunta on the morrow. The Guru sent orders to a body of Udasis to put on their turbans, take their arms, and prepare for defence. The Udasis too did not wish to lose their lives. They said that there were other countries where they might beg for their living, and that the Guru's kitchen from which they used to eat, was not the only one in the world which remained to them. It was not for the purpose of fighting they had left their homes and become pilgrims. They accordingly resolved to abscond during the night one by one, so that their departure might be unobserved.

Next morning the Guru was informed that the Udasis had all fled except their mahant Kripal, who remained in a state of abstraction. The Guru smiled and said, 'The root at any rate is left, and since there is the root the tree shall bear blossom and fruit. If the mahant had gone, the Udasis

would have been totally extirpated, and excommunicated from Sikhism.' The Guru then ordered the mahant to be sent for, and thus addressed him: 'O mahant, whither have thy Udasis fled? Hearken to me. Thy disciples eat our sacred food, but when they see a green field elsewhere, they go to graze on it like cattle. They have all absconded in the present hour of need.' The mahant calmly replied, 'All disciples of the Gurus are made by thee, and thou thyself canst pardon them.'

While the Guru was conversing with the mahant two Sikhs arrived to report that the army of the hillmen had arrived near Bhangani. The Guru gave orders to his five cousins to take troops and stop the entrance of the enemy into the town. Then making all arrangements for the defence of Paunta during his absence, he sent for his arms and armour and offered the following prayer to the Almighty :—

Eternal God, Thou art our shield,
The dagger, knife, the sword we wield.
To us protector there is given
The timeless, deathless, Lord of heaven ;
To us All-steel's unvanquished might ;
To us All-time's resistless flight ;
But chiefly Thou, Protector brave,
All-steel, wilt Thine own servants save.[1]

Then while repeating his orders he buckled on his sword, slung his quiver over his shoulder, took his bow in his hand, mounted his steed, and shouting 'Sat Sri Akal' in his loudest voice proceeded to confront his enemies. It is recorded that the hoofs of the Guru's horse in their quick movement raised clouds of dust which obscured the sun, and that the cheers of his men resembled thunder in the stormy and rainy month of Sawan.

When the Guru arrived at Bhangani, Bhai Daya

[1] This is freely translated from a version of the first lines of the *Akāl Ustat* found in Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs*.

Ram pointed out the positions of the armies arrayed against him. 'Behold; there is Fatah Shah's army, and to the right of it are the faithless Pathans who have deserted us. Behind them all stands Fatah Shah himself. In the van is seen Hari Chand, the Raja of Handur, a brave and accomplished archer.'

Meanwhile a contingent was seen to approach, discharging firearms and committing great havoc among the hillmen. Diwan Nand Chand was puzzled and applied to the Guru for information. A soldier arrived in breathless haste, and said that Budhu Shah had arrived to wipe out the Guru's taunts for having introduced the Pathans to him. The Guru was of course overjoyed to receive Budhu Shah with his reinforcement, and at once gave the order to charge. Sango Shah, one of the Guru's cousins, who discharged bullets like hail and committed fearful destruction among the enemy, is specially mentioned on this occasion for his conspicuous gallantry.

Raja Fatah Shah soon learnt that the Pathans had misled him as to the character and strength of the Guru's army. Raja Hari Chand then suggested that the Pathans under Bhikan Khan, being in the Guru's secret and aware of his plan of operations, should be sent to the front. This was accordingly done. They charged the Guru's army and used their muskets with great effect. The Guru sent Nand Chand and Daya Ram with their troops to check their onset. Nand Chand and Daya Ram advanced with the rapidity of arrows shot from the Guru's bow-string. They and their men discharged missiles like winged serpents against the enemy. The Pathans too, fought well, the battle was hotly contested, and many brave men were untimely slain on both sides.

The struggle was continued by both armies with the eagerness of wrestlers striving for victory. Sango Shah continued his brave career and killed many of the enemy. He was well supported by his brother

Mahri Chand, who showered bullets with deadly precision on the Pathans, but was at last surrounded as his missiles were exhausted. Sango seeing his brother's perilous position put his horse at full speed to rescue him, and so deftly applied his arrows, that the Pathans soon surrendered their expected prey and fled.

Budhu Shah, his relations, and his disciples, fought with great bravery and devotion, and succeeded in slaying numbers of the enemy. The ground resembled a red carpet. His men shouted like thunder, and drove the enemy before them as a hurricane drives chaff. Raja Gopal of Guler now arrived with his troops to reinforce Fatah Shah. He called out to the fugitives, 'Why run away? I have come to your assistance.' On this the hillmen took courage and renewed the combat. They directed their attack principally against Budhu Shah's troops. Seeing this, Budhu Shah's sons fought with the greatest bravery, felled the enemy as a woodcutter fells forest trees, and warded off all return strokes, so that they piled up corpses on corpses. Raja Gopal, seeing the destruction of his allies, addressed his men, 'My brethren, now is the time for action. Maintain the honour of the hill rajas.' The result of this brief exhortation was that the enemy surrounded Budhu Shah's son. In this critical position he fought with great desperation. His bravery attracted the attention of the Guru himself who sent his uncle Kripal with troops to rescue him. Kripal's men showered arrows and bullets on the enemy, and succeeded in extricating the youth. He and Kripal then joined in a terrific charge on the hillmen. Raja Gopal seeing this discharged an arrow at Budhu Shah's son which struck him on the chest, and brought him to the ground. This led to a close engagement of the combatants on both sides for the possession of the body. Every form of weapon was plied and the carnage became

terrific. Such was the gallantry of Kripal and the spirit he infused into his followers, that the enemy fled, leaving the corpse of Budhu Shah's son to be borne away from the field by his father's disciples for honourable interment.

Raja Gopal, on seeing the confusion produced in his ranks by the brave Kripal, directed his horse at full speed against him. As Gopal advanced he discharged an arrow at him, which lodged in his horse's saddle. On this Kripal shouted, 'O Gopal, thou hast had the first shot. It is for me to shoot now.' On hearing this Gopal turned his horse round. Kripal at once discharged an arrow, which penetrated his horse's temple, and the animal fell heavily on the ground. Gopal, unhorsed, ran away with the rapidity of a thief who finds day dawning on him in the exercise of his calling, and took refuge at the rear of his troops. He there provided himself with another steed which he mounted for the battle.

The Rajas of Chandel and Handur now appeared on the scene, and desired to come to close quarters with the Guru himself. They and their troops were, however, kept at bay by the bravery of the Guru's five cousins, supported by the faithful Sikhs.

Raja Fatah Shah now called out to Bhikan Khan and his Pathans, and asked them why they were concealing themselves and saving their skins like dastards. Bhikan Khan had represented that the Guru's army was worthless, so Fatah Shah now called on him to put that worthless army to flight. He and his men might then return to their homes with such plunder as they could obtain from their victory. Bhikan Khan, thus roused from his lethargy, joined in the fight. Haiyat Khan too advanced and killed several of the Guru's troopers. Kripal, the mahant of the Udasis, now advanced on horseback, and asked the Guru's permission to engage Haiyat Khan. The Guru replied, 'O holy saint, thou canst kill him with thy words. Pray that I may

be victorious.' Kripal, the Guru's uncle, overhearing this conversation, and seeing that the mahant was filled with martial enthusiasm, prayed the Guru to let him engage Haiyat Khan. The Guru inquired with what weapon the mahant was going to contend with his adversary. The mahant replied, 'With this club.' The Guru smiled and said, 'Go and engage thine enemy.' It was a spectacle to see the mahant with his matted hair twisted round his head, his body only clothed with a thin plaster of ashes, and his belly projecting far in front of his saddle, proceeding to engage a practised warrior armed with the latest weapons of destruction.

When the mahant approached and challenged Haiyat Khan, the latter saw that he had no warlike weapon and consequently retreated from him, scorning to attack a defenceless man. The onlookers were amused and said, 'How can that faqir contend with a Pathan?' The mahant, however, continued to challenge Haiyat Khan. As when a snake is escaping into its hole it will come forth if its tail be trodden on and attack the aggressor, so Haiyat Khan, who had been retiring before the mahant, now advanced against him goaded by his taunts. He aimed a blow of his sword at the mahant, which the latter received on his club, when lo! Haiyat Khan's sword fell to pieces. The mahant then addressed him, 'Now hold thy ground and defend thyself from me.' The mahant rose on his stirrups, and wielding his club with both hands struck Haiyat Khan with such force on the head that his skull broke, and his brains issued forth and stained the battle-field.[1]

[1] The Guru himself gives the following description of this single combat and of the fighting which immediately followed :—

Mahant Kripāl, raging, lifted his mace and smote the fierce Haiyāt Khān on the head, upon which his brains issued bubbling forth as butter from the earthen vessel which Krishan broke. Nand Chand raged in dreadful ire, launching his spear, then wielding his scimitar. When the keen weapon broke, he drew forth his dagger for the honour of the

The mahant continued to display his skill and bravery to the Pathans, but was at last surrounded by them and placed in a very hazardous position. When Jit Mal, one of the Guru's cousins, saw this, he rained such a shower of arrows on the Pathans, that they retreated and left the mahant unmolested. He then made his way to the Guru, and received his approbation.

Ram Singh, a mechanic from Banaras, had made a cannon for the Guru from which balls were discharged with great effect during this battle. People on seeing the impression made on the enemy concluded that the Guru was destined to be victorious.

Bhikan Khan and Nijabat Khan taunted their men with being unable to cope with a rabble of villagers who did not even know how to handle a martial weapon. The result was that the Pathans made another desperate effort to brighten their gloomy prospects, and for a time caused the Guru's army to waver. One Sahib Chand, a captain of a troop, asked the Guru's permission to oppose the onset of the enemy. The Guru ordered him to act on his own responsibility. Sahib Chand and his men so deftly and rapidly plied their arrows that the Pathans found it necessary to take shelter behind trees. Bhikan Khan, seeing this, addressed his men: 'How now, jackals, you are attaching a stigma to the Pathan race. The hillmen are laughing at you, and saying that a faqir, having killed Haiyat Khan, hath put all the Pathans to flight.' Saying this,

Sodhi race. Then my maternal uncle, Kripāl, advanced in his rage. The brave man's body received many arrows, yet he emptied the saddle of many a Turkish chief. Sāhib Chand, as a true Kshatri, strove in the battle's fury and slew bloodthirsty heroes, shining lights of Khurāsān. Many excellent warriors were slain, and those who survived fled with their lives. Sango Shāh, lord of battle, gloriously acquitted himself, and trampled underfoot bloodthirsty Pathāns. Rāja Gopāl shouted as he stood in the battle-field, like a tiger in the midst of deer. The brave Hari Chand planted his feet firmly on the field and in his fury discharged sharp arrows which went through and through his adversaries. —*Vichitar Nātak.*

Bhikan Khan set an example of bravery to his soldiers, and discharged showers of arrows at the Guru's troops.

Sahib Chand, on the Guru's side, continued to fight with great determination, and caused great havoc among the enemy. Seeing this, Hari Chand, the Raja of Handur, became enraged and strove with equal valour against him. His archery was so unerring that the Guru's army again wavered. Sahib Chand then occupied himself in warding off Hari Chand's arrows and inspiriting his men. They were not, however, to be encouraged, but were on the point of retreat when the Guru heard a great tumult near him. He at once ordered Nand Chand and Daya Ram to stay the attack of the enemy. These brave heroes discharged such showers of arrows as effectually checked the onward progress of the Pathans. Nand Chand, taking his sword in his hand and putting his horse to full speed, rode into the thick of his enemies, and chopped off their heads like pumpkins severed from their stalks. In his left hand he held a lance with which as occasion served he impaled his antagonists. The Pathans, however, retreated not, but with their religious battle-cry, 'Ya Ali! Ya Ali!' firmly held their ground and fell upon Nand Chand. He by his bravery and skill in arms sent every one who approached him to the next world by the way of the sword. A Pathan ran his horse forward and received Nand Chand's sword on his musket. The sword fell to pieces and then Nand Chand drew forth his two-edged dagger. Daya Ram went to his assistance at that critical moment, and a hand to hand engagement with the Moslems ensued, in which they were worsted and put to flight. Raja Hari Chand still held his ground and was challenged by Daya Ram. Hari Chand avoided not the conflict, but continued to discharge arrows and bullets and inflict great damage on the Guru's army. His horse

was very swift and tractable, and he could turn him rapidly round so as to save himself from a hostile attack, while at the same time he could discharge fatal missiles at his opponents. Saiyid Budhu Shah was found to have lost during the last charge a second son in the battle.

There came a confectioner named Lal Chand to the spot on which the Guru stood directing the battle. He said, 'I feel greatly tempted to join in the fray, but I have never learned how to handle warlike weapons.' The Guru replied, 'If thou desire to fight, take and mount a horse.' The confectioner did so. Then the Guru gave him a sword and shield. He inquired how they were to be held. The Guru told him to take the sword in his right hand and the shield in his left. The Guru's soldiers laughed at the confectioner's ignorance and said, 'Well done! our Guru and great King wants to kill hawks with sparrows.'

The confectioner ran his horse into the Pathan army. Bhikan Khan on seeing him said to his friend Mir Khan, 'See, here comes an Arora.[1] He hath been all day weighing flour and salt, and now the Guru hath given him a sword and shield. Take his arms and his horse, and then slay him.' Upon this Mir Khan pounced on him like a hawk on a sparrow. When Mir Khan drew his sword the confectioner warded it off with his shield. Then meditating on the Guru he aimed a return blow at Mir Khan which separated his head from his body. The hillmen taunted the Pathans with not being able to contend with petty hucksters, and asked them if they were not ashamed of their cowardice. Provoked by these taunts, Nijabat Khan and Bhikan Khan urged their men to make a general charge and not die like jackals. Raja Hari Chand joined them in their onslaught. The Guru's brave Sikhs, however, firmly held their ground. In the action that

[1] A tribe of Khatris.

ensued Jit Mal and Hari Chand engaged in single combat. Jit Mal discharged an arrow at Hari Chand, but the latter by an adroit movement of his horse escaped it. Jit Mal became angry at having missed his mark, and discharged another arrow at his opponent. Hari Chand followed his example. The arrows lodged in their horses' foreheads and both horses fell. The combatants thus unhorsed continued to fight until they were both wounded. After a short breathing time, both again put forward their strength, when their swords simultaneously took effect. Hari Chand fell fainting to the earth, and Jit Mal dropped down dead with his face to the foe. His comrades blest the father who had begotten him and the mother who had borne him.

When the hillmen found that their bravest warrior had fallen into a swoon, they assembled to consider what should be done. On seeing the enemy huddled together, the Guru ordered Ram Singh to direct his cannon towards them. Ram Singh obeyed, with the result that several of the enemy were killed. On this the Rajas of Dadhwal and Jaswal became enraged and actively joined in the battle. Fatah Shah, however, saw that the day was lost and took to flight. The Raja of Chandel was astonished at the conduct of Fatah Shah, and continued to do valiant battle on behalf of the hill chiefs.

At the time when Jit Mal and Hari Chand were engaged in single combat, Sango Shah, the Guru's cousin, and Nijabat Khan, the Pathan leader, were similarly employed, and both fell by mutual slaughter. The Guru, on seeing the courage and fate of the hero who had performed for him such gallant deeds, changed his name from Sango to Shah Sangram—Lord of battle. The Guru, enraged at his loss, mounted his charger and rode into the thick of the combat. He so plied his arrows that sounds of woe arose on all sides from the Pathan ranks. The Guru, on seeing the renegade Bhikan Khan,

discharged an arrow at him. It missed him but killed his horse, upon which he took to flight. Nand Chand and Daya Ram now saw an opportunity in the demoralized state of the Pathans to make a final desperate charge and complete their discomfiture. The result was great slaughter of the treacherous Muhammadans. When the hillmen saw the total defeat of the Pathans, they too began to run away from the field of battle.

Raja Hari Chand, who swooned on being wounded by Jit Mal, had by this time recovered, and appeared on the scene with the heroic resolution to secure victory for his side. He addressed his troops : 'Hillmen, once so brave, why die like cowards ? I have come to your assistance. Take courage.' Saying this the Raja stayed the fleeing hosts. Meanwhile showers of arrows continued to speed from the Guru's army. Raja Hari Chand shot many brave men with his own arrows. The Guru on seeing this confronted him, and afterwards thus described the combat that ensued :—

Hari Chand, in his rage, drew forth his arrows. He struck my steed with one and then discharged another at me, but God preserved me and it only grazed my ear in its flight. His third arrow penetrated the buckle of my waist-belt and reached my body, but wounded me not. It is only God who protected me, knowing me His servant. When I felt the touch of the arrow, my anger was kindled. I took up my bow and began to discharge arrows in abundance. Upon this my adversaries began to flee. I took aim and killed the young chief, Hari Chand. When he perished my heroes trampled their enemies under foot. The chief of Korori was seized by death. Upon this the hillmen fled in consternation and I, through the favour of the eternal God, gained the victory. Having thus held the battle-field, we raised aloud the song of triumph. I showered wealth on my warriors and they all rejoiced.

Raja Fatah Shah saw there was only safety in

flight, and hastened to retire to his capital. Praises of the Guru's valour and skill in warfare were sung throughout the country.

Chapter VI

After the battle the Guru went to where lay the bodies of Sango Shah, Jit Mal, and his other brave fallen Sikhs. He ordered the slain on both sides to be disposed of. The bodies of the Sikhs were cremated, of the Hindus thrown into the adjacent river, and of the Musalmans buried with all solemnity. Bards assembled and chanted their praises. Saiyid Budhu Shah presented himself and his two surviving sons to the Guru. The Guru said, 'I hail thee as a true priest of God. Thy human life is profitable unto thee. Deem not that thy sons are dead. Nay, they shall live for ever. Only those die who despise God's name and turn cowards on the field of battle.' Budhu Shah replied, 'True king, I mourn not for my sons who are slain, because, in the first place, they have gone to enjoy seats in paradise, and, secondly, because they have lost their lives in defence of thee. Such a boon is not obtained even by the greatest austerities.'

The Guru considered how he should requite Budhu Shah for his supreme devotion to his cause. He decided that, as worldly possessions were fleeting, the gift of God's name was the highest reward of all, and so that inestimable boon he duly conferred on him. But he made him other gifts also. The Guru at the time was combing his long hair, and a servant stood by holding his turban. When the Guru had performed his toilet, he laid his comb with loose hair in it upon the turban and presented them to Budhu Shah to preserve in remembrance of him. He also gave him a small knife which Sikhs usually carry, and finally a sum of five thousand rupees to distribute among his disciples. The Guru's turban,

his comb, hair, and knife are preserved as relics in the Sikh state of Nabha. They were acquired from Budhu Shah's descendants by Raja Bharpur Singh.

The Guru remembered his cousins Sango Shah and Jit Mal, and proclaimed them brave and puissant warriors who had taken their seats in heaven. He bade their brothers not mourn for them. The brothers replied, 'For whom should we mourn? Sango Shah and Jit Mal have fought and obtained the dignity of salvation. War means either to kill or be killed, and there is no need to mourn the consequences.' The Guru rewarded all those who had risked their lives for him and contributed to his signal and decisive victory.

When the Guru's fame extended after his recent success and prowess in arms, he was visited by many accomplished persons. Poets, singers, and musicians flocked to his court, and all who visited him he endeavoured to suitably reward. Now that the war was over, the Sikh soldiers formed various projects to occupy their time for the future. They would go and seize Raja Fatah Shah, and make him bow at the Guru's feet. And they would conquer and obtain the freedom of the country between Paunta and Anandpur, so as to remove the obstacles interposed in marching hither and thither. This last enterprise, as being the one that affected them most closely, they specially urged on the Guru's consideration.

The Guru remonstrated and restrained them. He bade them bide their opportunity. Their empire should yet extend far and wide. He knew, however, that his troops would not sit down idle, flushed as they were with their recent victory. Accordingly he gave them an order to return to Anandpur, an order with which they were delighted. They all set forth accordingly, taking their wounded and their baggage.

The Guru marched by way of Sadhaura and Laharpur. He encamped at the latter place, and was there met by the envoy of the Raja of Nahan, who desired to come to meet him. The Guru sent his army to Anandpur, and remained himself with only a few followers to meet the Raja. The Guru was fain to divert himself with the chase after his recent warfare, and ample opportunities were afforded him in that part of the country. During his stay in Laharpur, Budhu Shah often visited him, and held religious conversations with him. Though the Raja of Nahan very much desired to entertain the Guru, yet he apprehended the wrath of the other hill chiefs if he were known to be still on amicable terms with the high priest of the Sikhs, who had inflicted on them such a signal defeat. The Raja used to send a messenger daily to say that he was coming; but somehow he was accidentally prevented. He would, however, come on the morrow. The Raja carried on this method of procrastination from day to day. At last he asked the advice of his ministers, whether it was proper for him to meet the Guru or not. They advised him that it was not, seeing that the Guru was at enmity with all the hill chiefs. Were he now to meet the Guru, the chiefs would resent it and probably make war on him. On this the Raja sent a messenger to say he was very busy and could not go himself to meet the Guru, but he would send his chief minister to do him the honours of the state. The Guru did not conceal his knowledge of the Raja's motives, and sent him a message that he would now continue his journey to Anandpur, and the Raja need not give himself any further concern on the subject of an interview.

The Guru stayed altogether thirteen days at Laharpur. The principal inhabitants were Ranghars, thieves by instinct and profession, who stole two of his camels. When the Ranghars refused to give up the booty, the Guru sent for a faqir who lived near,

and told him to go, under pretence of begging, to the house of a certain Ranghar, and see whether the camels were there. The faqir went, saw the camels, and duly reported his discovery. The Guru sent for the Ranghar in possession, and told him to act as an honest man, and give up the camels, otherwise he would oust him from house and home. On this the Ranghar parted with the stolen property. The Guru called the Ranghars' village counterfeit, and the faqir's village genuine, and said the faqir's village should ever gain and the Ranghars' ever lose. The prophecy of the Guru has been fulfilled. A temple called Toka was subsequently constructed in Lahar-pur in honour of the Guru's visit.

As the Guru proceeded to Anandpur he was met by the Rani of Raipur,[1] who waited for him on his route. After making her obeisance she asked him to take rest at her capital. The Guru gladly accepted her invita-tion. She showed him the greatest hospitality and sent her son to him with an offering of a bag of rupees. At a subsequent interview she entreated the Guru to pray that her son's line might permanently endure. The Guru said that her son ought to allow his hair to grow and perfect himself in the practice of arms. The Rani replied that the Turks were in power, and she was afraid to allow her son to dress differently from them. The Guru exhorted her not to be afraid. The rule of the Turks should only last for a brief period. 'When my sect groweth more numerous and obtaineth possession of the empire of the Turks, it shall then adopt long hair as a distinction. And when the line of the Turks is extirpated, thine shall

[1] Rāipur is in the sub-collectorate of Narāingarh in the present district of Ambāla in the Panjāb. To Rāipur are attached about twenty-three villages, yielding a yearly income of Rs. 18,000. The present proprietor is Rāo Baldev Singh, a Hindu Rājpūt. His grand-father was a Sikh. In the fort of Rāipur is a Gurdwāra on the spot where Gobind Rāi dined as the Rāni's guest. There is also a Gurdwāra outside the fort on the spot where his tent was pitched. The Granth Sāhib is kept in both Gurdwāras.

remain in undiminished dignity. It shall then unite with the Khalsa and obtain all happiness.'

Upon this the Guru took his sword and shield and presented them to the Rani's son. He said, 'Take them and treat them with respect, so that when the time of trouble ariseth, thy wishes may be fulfilled, and thy life and property preserved.' The Rani was delighted with the Guru's presents and words, and thus addressed him: 'Great king, great are thy gifts. Who can deprive us of them? It is thy unswerving duty to hold thyself bound by the bonds of love for the human race, and thou art, moreover, merciful and compassionate.' The Rani, seeing that the Guru had made the gift with his own sacred hands, was filled with delight, and taking the sword and shield put them respectfully on her head and then touched her son's head with them. She bound a coverlet on a couch and placed the weapons reverently on it. After this the Guru continued his journey to Anandpur.

On the way the Guru halted at Kiratpur, where Gulab Rai and Sham Das, the grandsons of Guru Har Gobind, came to visit him. He there visited the shrines of his ancestors. When it became known that the Guru was returning to Anandpur, the inhabitants of that city came forth to receive him, and there were unusual rejoicings on his safe and glorious return.

Not long afterwards complaints began to be made against the Guru's troops to Raja Bhim Chand. Whenever the Guru's men did not accompany him to the chase, they used to go hunting in detached groups by themselves. The Guru at that time set about the construction of a fort, and made a strong and lofty battlement around it.

Raja Bhim Chand was greatly irritated by the numerous complaints he continually received against the Sikhs. He took counsel with his minister, 'What shall we do? We are not strong enough to contend

with the Guru, but how long are we to endure this annoyance ?' The minister replied, 'O Raja, I see no solution of the difficulty except reconciliation with the Guru.' All the other principal state officers who were consulted gave similar replies. Bhim Chand then decided that he would send an envoy to ascertain if the Guru had any intention of making an abiding peace with him.

The envoy, who was selected from the most polished officials of the state, duly delivered his master's message praying for peace and forgetfulness of the past. The Guru replied, 'I have not fallen out with Raja Bhim Chand, but he hath fallen out with me. See what deceit he exercised in his efforts to obtain my elephant. When his marriage procession went to Srinagar, he endeavoured to kill my minister and his troops. It was only by God's special favour they escaped. Even then thy Raja left nothing undone against us, for he incited Fatah Shah who had been my friend to make war on us. Here again God protected us and we obtained the victory. O envoy, our army hath taken possession of no fort or village of yours. My troopers are grievously in want of grass for their horses, and goats' flesh for themselves. These can only be obtained from your villages. If we do not obtain them on payment we must starve, but we do not desire to accept anything else from you.'

The envoy smiled and said, 'Consider Raja Bhim Chand's country as thine own. He is very anxious to meet thee, and if thou permit me I will conduct him here.' The Guru replied, 'In Guru Nanak's house men meet their deserts. If any one with lowly mind enter therein, he shall be happy ; but if any one, lifting his head too high, enter it, his life shall pay the forfeit. Then plainly tell thy Raja that if he entertain friendly intent, he may come to me, and he shall be received with due consideration.' The Raja was very pleased on receiving this message,

and at once made elaborate preparations for his visit to the Guru.

When Bhim Chand was introduced into the Guru's presence he said, 'O true Guru, thy name is cherisher of those who seek thy protection. I pray thee to pardon and forget any foolish words I might have uttered or any foolish acts I might have done.' The Guru replied, 'O Raja, I have not been thine aggressor. The aggression hath been all on thy side. If thou act fairly towards the Guru, he will act fairly towards thee.' Bhim Chand promised to act for the future according to the Guru's wishes. Upon this the Guru gave him a magnificent robe of honour, and dismissed him highly delighted with the interview.

The Guru's wife Sundari now presented him with a son named Ajit Singh on the fourth day of the bright half of Magh, Sambat 1743 (A. D. 1687).

Chapter VII

During the absence of the Emperor Aurangzeb in the south of India, whither he had gone to make war on Tana Shah, King of Golkanda,[1] there arose great administrative irregularities. At that time Mian Khan was viceroy of Jammu. He sent his commander-in-chief, Alif Khan, to levy tribute on Kripal, Raja of Kangra, Kesari Chand, Raja of Jaswal, Prithi Chand, Raja of Dadhwal, Sukh Dev, Raja of Jasrot, and others. Alif Khan first addressed himself to Raja Kripal, 'Either pay me suitable tribute or contend with me in arms.' Kripal made him certain presents, and then told him that Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur was the greatest of all the allied hill chiefs. Were he first to pay tribute, all the rest would follow his example, and then there would

[1] Golkanda was then the capital of the state of Haidarābād in the Dakhan.

be no necessity for warfare. If, however, Bhim Chand were to refuse and elect the alternative of war, Kripal would still support Alif Khan. Raja Dayal, the chief of Bijharwal, probably persuaded by Raja Kripal, also promised to meet Alif Khan's demands.

Alif Khan adopted Raja Kripal's suggestion and proceeded towards Bilaspur, Raja Bhim Chand's capital. Halting at Nadaun he sent an envoy to Bhim Chand with the same demand as he had previously made Kripal. Bhim Chand replied that he would rather defend himself than pay tribute. Having dispatched this message he called his principal officials to a council of war. His prime minister thus advised him—'If thou desire victory, it shall be assured on condition that thou obtain the Guru's assistance.' This advice pleased Bhim Chand, and he accordingly sent the prime minister to the Guru to request his active support.

The Guru pondered on the proposal and accepted it for the following reasons :—The friendship between himself and Raja Bhim Chand was duly ratified, and it would be a shame to him if, by his refusal to render assistance, his friend were defeated. Secondly, Bhim Chand's prime minister had put himself under the Guru's protection as a suppliant, and the Guru felt that he could not refuse his prayer. He accordingly sent Raja Bhim Chand the following message, 'I shall be with thee early on the morrow. Pay no tribute to the Turks. If thou pay it to-day, there will be another demand on thee to-morrow. But if thou fight and cause the Turks to retreat, then shall no one molest thee.'

Raja Bhim Chand on receiving this promise made certain of his victory. Raja Kesari Chand, Raja Prithi Chand, and Raja Sukh Dev took their forces to join his, and all proceeded to Nadaun to give battle to Alif Khan, Raja Kripal, and Raja Dayal's troops. These were encamped on an eminence, and

had therefore superiority of position. Bhim Chand ineffectually essayed to take them by surprise, but the arrows and bullets which his troops discharged only struck rocks and trees, and inflicted no loss on the enemy. Bhim Chand, much disheartened, invoked with all fervour, Hanuman, the monkey-god who had assisted Ram Chandar in his expedition against Ceylon, and called on his allies to join him in another charge. This was met by Raja Kripal and Raja Dayal's forces, who slew all the men that succeeded in scaling the eminence. Bhim Chand had now almost lost all hope when the minister reminded him that the Guru's troops had not yet entered the field. The Guru receiving Bhim Chand's summons, mounted his steed, and at once proceeded to his assistance.

Bhim Chand, after greeting the Guru, requested him, who was senior as well by virtue of his spiritual rank as by the bravery of his troops, to storm the enemies' position. The Guru and his troops discharged fatal arrows, rushed the stockades, and created dismay in the ranks of the enemy. Alif Khan, Raja Kripal, and Raja Dayal now thought it time to leave their fastnesses and come forth to confront Bhim Chand and the Guru. Their main attack was directed against Bhim Chand whom they caused to retreat. Prithi Chand endeavoured to restrain Bhim Chand's retreating forces, and single-handed, with drawn sword, set himself to oppose Alif Khan and Dayal's onset. So completely did he succeed that Alif Khan and his allies' troops turned to flee. Raja Dayal was enraged at seeing his troops retreating, and began to ply his arrows with such fatal effect on his opponents that Bhim Chand's troops again wavered. Upon this Bhim Chand again addressed himself to the Guru, 'O Guru, seest thou not that this brave man is destroying our army? If I am defeated, thou shalt have the odium thereof.' The Guru at once turned his steed

round and challenged Raja Dayal, ' If thou mean to strike, then deal the first blow. Say not hereafter that the Guru hath struck thee unawares.' This enraged Dayal, who at once made a desperate effort to kill the Guru. The Guru, seeing this, took steady aim with his musket and lodged a bullet in Dayal's breast. Dayal fell like a tree blown down by the wind.

When Raja Kripal saw his brave ally fallen, he knew that his cause was lost. He, however, put himself in the van and made a desperate effort to retrieve the disaster. The Guru, now in full martial temper, incessantly discharged arrows which took deadly effect on the enemy. The survivors again fled to their fastnesses. Upon this Alif Khan and Kripal held a council of war. They both accepted the fact that they had been defeated owing to the assistance given Bhim Chand by the Guru, and they resolved to escape at night. In this they succeeded. When the allied army next morning found the ground unoccupied, they were profuse in their praises and acknowledgements to the Guru. The Guru in order to take rest and enjoy retirement and contemplation remained for eight days after the battle on the pleasant and picturesque banks of the river Bias.

Raja Kripal proposed a reconciliation with Raja Bhim Chand, which, after some negotiations, was duly effected. The Guru on hearing this was greatly pleased. He decided on a speedy return to Anandpur, and caused his drum to be beaten as the signal for his departure. His party arrived at Alsun on their way. The inhabitants, having heard of Raja Bhim Chand's secret ill-will to the Guru, refused to sell his troops supplies. On this the Guru, owing to the necessity of travel, was compelled to order that supplies be forcibly taken after payment at current rates. When the Guru approached Anandpur he caused his drum to be beaten. The inhabitants on

hearing the once familiar
to receive him.

The Guru's wife, Jito, presented him with a son on the seventh day of the month of Chet, Sambat 1747. The boy was called Zorawar Singh, or the powerful lion, to commemorate the battle of Nadaun.[1]

When it became known that the Sikhs had taken supplies forcibly at Alsun, some of the hill chiefs feared that the Guru would some day seize their territories also. Others were of a contrary opinion, and remained steadfast in their friendship for him. Some of the inhabitants of Anandpur who wavered in their loyalty, left the city lest they might suffer in any attack made on it by the Guru's enemies. In this movement, however, they were far from successful. Branded with infamy they could obtain no place of rest elsewhere, and were glad to return and sue for the Guru's pardon.

One Dilawar Khan, who had attained power in the Panjab during the insurrections which arose while Aurangzeb was employed in the Dakhan, became jealous of the Guru's fame and success, and sent his son with a force of one thousand men to exact tribute from him. If he refused, then Anandpur was to be sacked. When this was accomplished, Dilawar's son was to take tribute in a similar manner from all the hill rajas. The son hastened to obey the paternal command. When he reached the bank of the Satluj one of the Guru's scouts hastened to give information of the approach of a hostile force. The Guru was roused from his sleep at night to receive this intelligence and make hasty preparations for defence.

The Guru immediately ordered the drum to be beaten as the signal for his troops to take arms. His men fell into line almost immediately and marched to the Satluj. On their arrival they startled

[1] We here follow the *Sūraj Parkāsh* and the *Gur Bilās*. Others say it was Jujhār Singh who was born in the Sambat year 1747.

the enemy by peals of artillery, and thus gave an exaggerated idea of their numbers. Dilawar Khan's son, seeing that his men were suffering from the cold and unable to hold their weapons, yielded to the representations of his officers to beat a retreat. On their return march they plundered the town of Barwa. After that they marched to Bhalan, where they halted for two days and lived on the plunder of the village. They thence returned to Dilawar Khan. The son through shame durst not reply to his father when he censured him for his cowardice and the failure of his expedition.

Dilawar Khan had a slave called Husain, who boasted that if his master gave him an army he would plunder the Guru's city, Anandpur, exact tribute from Raja Bhim Chand, and return home either with tribute or the heads of the recusant hill chiefs. To effect these various objects, Dilawar Khan gave him command of two thousand men, with whom he promptly marched to Anandpur.

The Guru kept his troops in readiness to oppose the Muhammadans. Meanwhile the latter were plundering the towns and villages through which they marched. They also attacked and were victorious over the Raja of Dadhwal. Seeing this and also the strength of Husain's army, the faithless Raja Bhim Chand broke his treaty with the Guru, and threw in his lot with his enemies. Bhim Chand, following the example of Raja Kripal of Kangra, paid tribute to Husain, and in company with other traitorous chiefs proceeded with him to sack and destroy Anandpur. On hearing this the Guru's mother, Diwan Nand Chand, the Guru's three surviving cousins, and the masands, all waited on the Guru. His mother said, 'The brave Husain with a large army will soon be upon us, and thou hast not yet prepared for battle. My son, depute some masand to go and make peace with him.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, be not in haste. I am only

doing the work which the immortal God assigned me. The same immortal God will not allow him whom thou counsellest me to fear to approach me. He shall perish before he reacheth Anandpur.'

When Husain was on his way to Anandpur, Raja Gopal of Guler sent an envoy to say that he desired to meet him. Husain replied that he would be glad to see Gopal if he gave him a subsidy as Raja Bhim Chand and Kripal had done. Raja Gopal went with Raja Ram Singh to meet him. Gopal took some money with him, and went and sat in council with Bhim Chand and the other hill chiefs who were in Husain's camp. Husain was not pleased with Gopal's contribution, and told him to go home and bring as much again. Gopal set out for the purpose. On his homeward way he changed his mind, and decided that it would be more profitable to fight with Husain than give him more money. He accordingly sent a messenger to inform him of his determination. When Husain received this message, he changed his objective from Anandpur to Guler to do battle with Gopal. He vowed that he would first destroy Gopal's city and then march on Anandpur.

In pursuance of his vow Husain proceeded to Guler and invested it. The citizens were soon reduced to great straits, and the army asked permission to force their way out and contend with the Muhammadans in the open field. Raja Gopal replied, 'Have patience; I will at once send an envoy to make peace with Husain.' Husain's terms were the payment of ten thousand rupees, otherwise he would put Gopal and his troops to death and destroy their fortress. Gopal, unable to accept the terms, sent an envoy to the Guru to pray him to negotiate the desired peace with Husain. The Guru accordingly sent his agent Sangatia with an escort of seven troopers and orders to conclude such a peace between the combatants as would be advantageous to Gopal.

Sangatia first took counsel with Bhim Chand and

Kripal. Bhim Chand said, 'O Sikh, we have been waiting for thee. We advise thee to send for Raja Gopal at once, and effect a reconciliation between him and Husain.' In pursuance of this object, Sangatia, who knew that Bhim Chand and Kripal were on Husain's side, took an oath from them that if he could succeed in bringing Gopal to them for the purpose of arranging peace, they would not molest him. Sangatia then went to Gopal and stated all the circumstances. He promised Gopal that the Guru would conduct him to Bhim Chand and Kripal who were with Husain, and again take him back in safety to his fort. Sangatia added that if Husain did not agree to peace, but accepted the fate of battle, Gopal should by the Guru's favour be victorious.

When Gopal reached the allied chiefs, Bhim Chand told him that if he paid the tribute demanded all would be well. Gopal still refused to pay the money, and said Husain might do as he pleased. Upon this, Kripal plotted with Bhim Chand to arrest him and make him over to Husain. Gopal, who heard their intention, contrived to elude them, and having retired to the protection of his army sent a message of defiance to his enemies.

On one side were ranged Husain, Raja Bhim Chand of Bilaspur, and Raja Kripal of Kangra. On the other were Raja Gopal of Guler and Raja Ram Singh, a powerful chief who was in alliance with him. The fight began with indescribable vehemence. The Guru's envoy Sangatia and his seven Sikhs were slain. Husain having fought with great bravery perished on the battle-field. Raja Kripal of Kangra was slain. Himmat and Kimmat, two of Husain's officers, were also slain. On seeing this, Bhim Chand fled with his army. Gopal then went with large offerings to the Guru and thanked him for his support and his prayers for the victory.

Some masands escaped to the neighbouring hills

and proclaimed themselves gurus. In this they had a twofold object. The Emperor Aurangzeb sent his son Muazzim, afterwards known as Bahadur Shah, into the Panjab to collect tribute, and the masands feared that they should have to part with their wealth both to the Emperor and the Guru. It does not appear that the Emperor's son remained long in the Panjab or committed any depredations there. He was succeeded by General Mirza Beg, who peremptorily demanded tribute from the hill chiefs. They represented that the masands who had settled in their territories, were in possession of great wealth of which they had plundered the Guru and his Sikhs, and which they might be called upon to disgorge. Mirza Beg proceeded against them, stripped them of all they possessed, and subjected them to exquisite tortures. Any that escaped from him were afterwards punished by four other equally relentless officers who succeeded him.

A third son, Jujhar Singh, was now born to the Guru on Sunday, the first day of the second half of the month of Magh, Sambat 1753, A. D. 1697. This was his wife Jito's second son.

Among those who went to the Guru to congratulate him on the birth of his son were many bards, Sanyasis, Udasis, and Bairagis, who had often listened to the Guru's conversation. At that time too came a bard called Kuwar, son of a famous poet called Kesho Das of Bundhelkhand. Aurangzeb had tried to convert Kuwar forcibly to Islam, upon which he fled for protection to the Guru. He presented a very humble metrical petition, which the Guru was pleased to accept. The Guru took him into his service on a liberal salary, and in a similar way welcomed all bards who came to him for employment.

The practice of arms was never lost sight of at the Guru's court. Even his eldest son, Ajit Singh, though now only ten years of age, was duly instructed in the

use of offensive and defensive weapons. The Guru used to take Zorawar Singh in his lap while he watched Ajit Singh fencing. Jujhar Singh too used to be brought by his nurse to witness the performance and imbibe from infancy a love for martial exercises. The Guru used often to inform his children of what the country had suffered from the Turks, so it behoved them to learn how to protect themselves and their Sikhs.

Jito in due time gave birth to a third son, Fatah Singh, who was born on Wednesday, the eleventh day of Phagan, Sambat 1755, A. D. 1699. This was the Guru's fourth son in all.

Chapter VIII

One day the Sikhs asked a pandit who used to read epic poems to the Guru, 'Are the deeds attributed to Bhim, Arjan, and others, real or exaggerated?' The pandit, thus addressed, actuated by greed, decided to mislead his questioners, and replied, 'Bhim, Arjan, and the rest were really as powerful as they are described to have been. This was the result of their sacrifices and burnt offerings in honour of Durga which made her visible to them.' The Sikhs then prayed the pandit to show them how they could behold the goddess, and vanquish their enemies. The pandit, on hearing this, inwardly rejoiced that the Sikhs had at last fallen into his power, and, what he deemed more important, that he had found an opportunity of making a competence for himself. He replied, 'Although no god or goddess becometh visible in this Kal age, yet such a manifestation may be possible by a due expenditure of money and by the performance of certain acts of devotion. Were the goddess Durga to appear, she would fulfil all your desires. But a great feast must first be celebrated, and a trial made as to who

are the most holy Brahmans, so that they may perform sacrifice and burnt offerings with the object of ensuring the appearance of the goddess.' The Sikhs informed the Guru of this conversation. He said to the pandit, 'Your statement that the goddess becometh not manifest in the Kal age is not supported by proof. If she appeared in the past ages, why should she not also in this? And if she appear not in this age, then it is unlikely that she appeared in any former age. At the same time, I require not her blessings or curses. I am son of the Immortal, who is the King of gods and men, who controlleth millions of worlds, who is omnipotent, who cherisheth me; and I have no need to adore gods or goddesses.'[1]

The pandit again represented that if the Sikhs made Durga manifest, they should be successful in all their battles as Durga herself had been in all her contests[2] with the demons who had made war on the benign deities. The Guru being thus importuned, determined to demonstrate the hypocrisy of the Brahmans. He invited them all to a great feast. Every form of viands, including meat, was provided for the guests. When they were assembled, he made it known that he would give five gold muhars to each Brahman who ate meat, while to each of those who ate food cooked with clarified butter he would give five rupees. To eat meat is really forbidden to all Brahmans; yet several of them did so, induced by the promised reward. According to one account fourteen, and according to another twenty-one Brahmans refused the meat offered them. The Guru went to the Brahmans who had eaten it, and rebuked them, saying, 'You are setting a bad example to your people. You are not Brahmans but ghouls. It is to deceive men you wear the tilaks on your foreheads and pretend you are high priests

[1] Bhāi Gyān Singh's *Panth Parkāsh*, Chapter 25.

[2] These are related in the Mārkandeya Purān of the Hindus. The work has recently been translated by Mr. F. E. Pargiter.

of religion, but in reality you are merely Chandals, the lowest class of pariahs.' The Guru, however, gave them the promised reward.

On that occasion the Guru quoted the following words of Kabir :—

Kabir, where there is divine knowledge there is virtue ; and where there is falsehood there is sin ;

Where there is covetousness there is death ; where there is forgiveness there is God Himself.

The Guru also quoted the following slok of Guru Amar Das :—

As far as possible rely not on the covetous :
At the last moment they will plant thee where nobody will lend thee a hand.

The Brahmans who abstained from meat pressed the pandit's suggestion on the Guru, 'If thou by worship and austerities can behold Durga, who is the living burning light of this age, she will grant thee any boon thou mayest desire.' The Guru inquired, 'Can you render Durga manifest? What you propose is not according to my religion.' The Brahmans replied that there was a Brahman called Kesho at Banaras who had power to render the goddess manifest, but he would demand large remuneration. The Guru again asked how a man filled with greed, such as they represented Kesho to be, could possess such spiritual power as to cause Durga to appear. The Brahmans, unable to answer this question, took their departure.

The Guru utilized the assemblage at the Hindu festival of the Holi to organize on the following day a mimic warfare, which he called mahalla,[1] for the exercise of his troops. The object of the Guru has in recent times been obtained by the camps of exercise yearly established by the Indian Government.[2]

[1] A place for *halla* or contest.
[2] Sardār Kāhn Singh's *Gurumat Prabhākar*, p. 134.

Kesho, who was exceedingly avaricious, heard that the Guru was very open-handed, and accordingly went to him. He said he was on his way to behold the goddess of Jawalamukhi, but had halted to see the Guru whose greatness was universally recognized. He told the Guru that he had power to render the goddess manifest, but the ceremonies and burnt offerings which would have to be performed as a preliminary would be very expensive. Kesho was supported by the other Brahmans, who again pressed the Guru to have the necessary ceremonies and burnt offerings performed. The Guru in order to demonstrate Kesho's insincerity outwardly accepted his offer. The Brahman on ascertaining the Guru's wealth was highly pleased and promised all assistance. He made out a list of materials for a hom or burnt offering, which would cost a large sum of money. The Guru provided what was required, and asked where the hom was to be performed. The Brahman replied that it must be performed in a lonely spot. The Guru pointed to the beautiful hill of Naina Devi as a place where all ceremonies could be performed privately and without interruption. The Brahman was much pleased, praised the Guru's judgement and liberality, and said that the goddess would certainly appear at the place indicated. The Guru then ordered the ground to be cleared, after which the Brahman proceeded to perform the ceremonies necessary for the goddess's manifestation.

One day the Guru went out shooting and killed several forest birds. On his return Kesho told him the goddess would never appear to any one who took life. The Guru replied that animals were continually sacrificed to the Brahman's goddess at Jawalamukhi. He then ordered his servant to let go the birds. When the strings with which they had been fastened to the Guru's saddle were undone, it is said, the birds flew away. Kesho was astonished and

expressed himself happy at having been brought in contact with such a holy man as the Guru.

The Guru had many strange presents made him. One day a gardener presented himself. He had come all the way from Patna with a young mango-tree as an offering. The gardener narrated how he had planted a garden, and vowed in the hope of success to give the first tree it produced to the Guru. He now brought the tree, and asked the Guru where he would have it planted. The Guru said he would shoot an arrow, and where it fell the tree might be planted. The Guru's arrow fell far distant, and there the young tree was duly planted.

After nine months' worship and invocation of the goddess the pandit told the Guru that she would soon appear. There would be many indications of such a result. A disastrous earthquake would occur, there would be unusual lightnings, and several other formidable portents would appear in the heavens. The Guru pressed the Brahman to fix a date for the goddess's appearance. The Brahman fixed the first day of the Nauratar—a festival in honour of Durga held in the month of Assu and Chet—for the phenomenon. The first day of Chet passed, and she did not appear. The Brahman then said she would appear on the fifth of the Nauratar. The fifth day passed, and she did not appear. The Brahman then said that some holy person must be offered as a sacrifice to her, and she would afterwards undoubtedly disclose herself. The Guru replied, 'Who so worthy to be offered as a sacrifice as thou? Thou sayest there are none so holy as Brahmans.' The pandit on hearing this began to suspect that the Guru meant to sacrifice him to the goddess, and, if this occurred, what a sad recompense it would be for all his labours! He then said, 'If thou give me permission, I will go and fetch a human sacrifice. The Guru replied, 'No; the sacrifice is here.' On this the pandit's courage oozed forth from the

partitions of his brain. He immediately left the Guru's presence on the pretext of performing an office of nature, and never paused in his flight until he had arrived at a safe retreat.

After Kesho had thus absconded, the Guru ordered that the materials which had been collected for the ceremony should be thrown into the hom-pit. Upon this a great flame shot up towards the heavens. When this was seen from afar, all the spectators felt certain that the Guru himself had caused Durga to appear. The Guru drew his sword and set out for Anandpur. When the people asked if the goddess had appeared to him, he raised his sword aloft, inasmuch as to say that by God's assistance his sword would perform the deeds which the Brahmans attributed to Durga. The people then erroneously believed that the goddess had given him the sword.[1]

The Baisakhi festival was now approaching. The Guru gave a great feast to which he invited all who were assembled in Anandpur, but omitted the Brahman Kesho. He, however, sent for him when all the guests had partaken of the feast. Kesho angrily refused the invitation, and said he would not eat the leavings of a low-caste rabble. Diwan Nand Chand, on behalf of the Guru, recalled to Kesho's memory the fact that he had like a coward deserted him. 'Fine service thou didst perform for him, and thine anger and disappointment are the result!' Kesho on further reflection went to the Guru, but at the same time refused to eat the remains of the feast. The Guru composed the following on this occasion :—

Whatever God wrote in thy destiny thou hast obtained;
O Brahman, banish thy regret :
It is not my fault that it escaped my memory; think not of anger.
I shall send thee clothes and bedding to-day; be thoroughly assured of this.

[1] Gyān Singh's *Panth Parkāsh*, Chapter 25.

Kesho replied—All Khatris are made by the Brahmans.

The Guru—Look on my Sikhs here with a glance of favour.[1]

Here the Guru began to laud his Sikhs and acknowledge the powerful assistance he had received from them :—

My victories in battle have been through their favour ; through their favour I have already made gifts ;

Through their favour all my troubles have been removed ; through their favour again my house is replenished ;

Through their favour I have acquired knowledge ; through their kindness all my enemies have been killed ;

Through their favour I am exalted ; otherwise there are millions of ordinary men like myself.[2]

To serve them pleaseth my heart ; no other service is dear to my soul.

To bestow gifts on them is well ; to make gifts to others is not profitable for my Sikhs.

To bestow upon them will bear fruit in the next world and will bring honour even in this : to bestow on others is altogether useless.

All the wealth of my house with my soul and body is for them.

The Brahman became angry and his heart began to fry and burn like dry grass.

He wept at the custom which had been established for the future.

Some writers are of opinion that the Guru, during the time the chroniclers state he was occupied in worshipping Durga, was in reality translating Sanskrit works in the seclusion and tranquillity of the mountain glades. These events occurred in Sambat 1755,

[1] This was said ironically. The Guru did not require Kesho's assistance for his Sikhs.

[2] That is, if the Sikhs had not assisted me I should be now in the same plight as millions of others.

A. D. 1698,[1] and it was on the fourteenth day of June of that year the Guru according to his own statement completed his translation of the Ram Avatar from Sanskrit into Hindi. He adds that it was completed at the base of the lofty Naina Devi on the margin of the Satluj waters.

CHAPTER IX

We have now arrived at a very critical stage of our biography of the Guru, and it is necessary to set forth with clearness and certainty what the Guru really thought of idolatry or the worship of inanimate objects.

On this subject the best evidence obtainable is the Guru's own acknowledged compositions. In the *Akal Ustat* he writes as follows :—

Some worshipping stones put them on their heads, some suspend lingams from their necks;

Some see God in the south, some bow their heads to the west ;[2]

Some fools worship idols, others busy themselves with worshipping the dead.

The whole world entangled in false ceremonies hath not found God's secret.

Again in the same composition the Guru addressing an idolater wrote as follows :—

O great beast, thou recognizest not Him whose glory filleth the three worlds.

Instead of the Supreme God thou worshippest things the touch of which shall cause thee to lose heaven.

By way of doing good acts thou committest sin at which even the greatest sins are abashed—

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut III, Chapter 29.

[2] *Dakhan desh Hari ka wāsa, pachh'im Allōh mukāma*, Kabir. The God of the Hindus dwells in the south (in Dwāraka), of the Muhammadans in the west (Makka).

Fall at the feet of the Supreme Being, O fool ; He is not in a stone.

In the Vichitar Natak are found the following among other similar verses :—

I am not a worshipper of stones,
Nor am I satisfied with any religious garb.

In the thirty-three Sawaiyas the Guru expresses himself as follows :—

Some fasten an idol firmly to their breasts, some say that Shiv is God ;

Some say that God is in the temple *of the Hindus* ; others believe that He is in the mosque *of the Musalmans* ;

Some say that Ram is God ; some say Krishan ; some in their hearts accept the incarnations as God ;

But I have forgotten all vain religion and know in my heart that the Creator is the only God.

Why worship a stone ? God is not in a stone.

Worship Him as God by the worship of whom all thy sins shall be erased,

And by taking whose name thou shalt be freed from all thy mental and bodily entanglements.

Make the meditation of God ever thy rule of action ; no advantage can be obtained by the practice of false religion.

Again the Guru writes as follows in his celebrated letter to the Emperor Aurangzeb :—

I am the destroyer of the turbulent hillmen,
Since they are idolaters and I am a breaker of idols.

In further evidence of the Guru's sentiments on the subject of idolatry, we have a composition, either written or sanctioned by himself, which is found in his collected works, on which to base our conclusion.

There was a king called Sumat Sain married to a lady called Samarmati. They had four sons and an only

daughter called Rankhambh Kala. The children were put under the tuition of a Brahman. One day the princess went earlier than usual to the Brahman's house and found him worshipping and prostrating himself before a salagram and a lingam.[1] She smiled on seeing her tutor thus engaged, and asked him the reason of his extraordinary conduct.

The Brahman

This salagram, O lady, is a god whom great kings adore. What dost thou who art ignorant know about it? Thou deemest this salagram which is god to be a stone.

The Princess

O great fool, thou recognizest not Him whose glory filleth the three worlds. Thou worshippest this stone at whose touch man's future bliss is forfeited. Thou committest sin to attain thine own object—such sin as other sins would be aghast at. O beast, fall at the feet of the great God; He is not a stone. He liveth in the water, in the dry land, in all things, and in all monarchs. He is in the sun, in the moon, in the sky. Wherever thou lookest, thou mayest fix thy gaze on Him. He is in fire, in wind, and beneath the earth. In what place is He not? He is contained in everything. Were all the continents to become paper and the seven seas ink; were all the vegetables to be cut down and employed as pens; were Saraswati, the goddess of eloquence, to dictate and all beings to write for sixty ages, they could not in any way describe God. Yet, O fool, thou supposest Him to be a stone. O man, thou findest not God's secret. Thou deceivest the world in every way, and fillest thy coffers with wealth as the reward of thy deception. Thou art thyself called by the world a clever and wise pandit, but thou worshippest a stone and therefore thou appearest to me to have abdicated thy reason. While

[1] The lingam sacred to Shiv is the symbol of procreation. It was worshipped in ancient times in Rome as it is now in India. The author saw a lingam in the temple of Venus in Pompeii, and was informed by his Italian guide that it was a stone on which barren women used to sit in the hope of offspring.

uttering 'Shiv, Shiv' with thy mouth, thy heart is filled with greed. Thou practisest excessive hypocrisy before the world, and art not ashamed to beg from door to door. Thou remainest for nearly two hours holding thy nose as if thou wert practising Jog. Thou standest on one leg invoking Shiv. If any one pass by and give thee one paisa, thou pickest it up with thy teeth, and forgettest thy gods. Thou givest instruction to others, but meditatest not on God thyself. Thou ever preachest to people to despise money. Yet for that very money thou beggest at the doors of high and low, and art not ashamed to debase thyself before even the meanest of thy fellow creatures. Thou sayest that thou art holy, but thou art very unholy. Thou callest thyself contented, but thou art very discontented, and only leavest one door to go and beg at another. Thou makest a clay idol of Shiv, and having worshipped it throwest it into the river. When thou returnest home thou settest up another in its place. Thou fallest at its feet, and rubbest thy forehead on the ground for an hour. Think what it hath to give thee. Thou worshippest the symbol of procreation, and fallest before it believing it to be Shiv. Thou callest a stone God, but it will not avail thee. Since the stone belongeth to the lowest order of creation, say what shall it give thee even if propitiated and pleased with thee? Even if it at any time make thee like itself, thou shalt be no better than a stone. Great simpleton, be assured that, when thy life hath departed, it will be too late for thee to know anything of God. Thou hast passed thy childhood without prayer, but even in thy manhood thou hast not repeated God's name. Thou hast induced others to give charity, but never lifted thy hand to assist another. Thou hast bent thy head to stones, but never to God. O fool, entangled in thy domestic affairs, thy life thou hast passed in procrastination. Having read one or two Purans, O Brahman, thou art swollen with conceit. Thou hast not read the Puran through which all the sins of this life may be erased. It is for the sake of show thou practisest penance. Day and night thy mind is absorbed in lucre. Fools accept thy statements, but not I. Why practisest

thou so much hypocrisy? For what object adorest thou a stone? Thou hast forfeited thy happiness here and hereafter. Thou givest false instruction and gladly acceptest all payment which thou claimest. It is enough that thou hast given evil instruction to my brothers; instruct not me.

The Brahman

Hear me, O princess, thou hast not considered Shiv's greatness. Ever worship the gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv. Thou knowest not their greatness, and that is why thou talkest in that way. Know that they are the oldest of all the gods, and do thou recognize them as the lords of the world. I am, O princess, a fasting Brahman, and love all both high and low. I communicate instruction to all and induce even great misers to practise charity.

The Princess

Thou communicatest spells in order to make disciples. Thou then takest money as offerings from them in whatever way thou canst, but thou teachest them not the truth, and marrest their happiness in this world and the next. Hear, O Brahman, thou plunderest in whatever way thou canst those to whom thou givest thine initiatory spell. The fools receive no divine knowledge from thee, but are fleeced for their pains. Thou tellest them that thy spell shall be advantageous to them, and that Shiv will grant them a boon. When the spells turn out unsuccessful, thou pretendest that they have omitted some necessary ceremony, and that is why they have not been successful. Thou next tellest them to give alms to Brahmans and perform the spell by which they might behold the god. Thou takest a fine from them when they ought to take it from thee for misleading them, and in return for their money thou givest them the same spell over again. Thou leadest them astray all along the line, and at last thou tellest them that they have omitted certain words, or that something interrupted the ceremonies to account for the non-appearance of the god and his failure to grant the desired blessing. On

this thou counsellest them to again give thee alms. O Brahman, that is the sort of spell thou teachest those whose houses thou designest to plunder. And when thy victims become poor, thou goest to spy out others. Were thine incantations and spells efficacious, thou wouldst sit as a monarch at home and not go about begging.

The Brahman filled with anger and heaping curses on the princess, said, 'How canst thou know mine affairs? Thou talkest as if thou hadst taken bhang.'

The Princess

Hear, O Brahman, it is thou who knowest not what thou sayest. Thou addressest me in an insolent manner. My senses are not stolen away by bhang. Whither have thine own senses gone without it? Thou callest thyself wise in that thou never takest bhang even by mistake, but when thou goest a-begging, thou insultest, as if under the influence of bhang, him whose house thou visitest. Why beg from door to door for the money thou pretendest to despise? Thou goest to rajas and takest morsels from them. Thou sayest thou hast abandoned all worldly things and preachest to everybody to do the same. Why stretchest thou forth thy hand to grasp what thou pretendest to renounce? To one man thou preachest to renounce wealth, to another thou sayest that he is under the influence of malignant stars, and therefore he ought to pay thee for deliverance therefrom. It is in the hope of cheating people thou wanderest from door to door. Thou recitest the Veds, the Shastars, and the Simritis, so that a double paisa may fall to thee from some one. Thou praisest him who givest thee anything and revilest him who refuseth. In this way thou hopest to obtain alms from all people. But thou reflectest not that praise and blame are every one's lot while alive, but affect not the dead. Thou canst not confer salvation on those who give thee alms, nor canst thou kill the son or father of him who giveth thee none. I only accept him as a Brahman who deemeth the givers and the refusers, praise and blame as the same. O Brahman, the man from whom

thou extortest money, or whom thou pleasest with thy varied flatteries, shall at last go to hell in thy company.

Brahmans, though they say they have abandoned the world, are lovers of wealth, and in quest of it go to die either in Banaras or Kumaun. Some through greed for money twist their matted hair round their heads. Others put on a wooden necklace and go forth shamelessly to the forest. Others again, taking tweezers, pluck out all the hair of their heads. The Brahmans practise hypocrisy in order to plunder the world, and they thus lose their happiness both here and hereafter. They make a clay lingam and worship it, but it hath no power for good or evil. Why do men who know that the lingam hath no light in it, light a lamp before it ? And why do very foolish and obstinate persons thinking it God fall down before it ? Thoughtless one, think of God and quickly cast away thy mind's indecision. They who have studied for a long time in Banaras go at last to die in Bhutan. Having acquired a little learning thou leavest thy home and wanderest from country to country. Thy father and mother thou hast left somewhere ; thy wife, thy son, and thy son's wife cannot find thee. No one hath passed beyond the goal of covetousness ; it hath beguiled all people.

Thou shavest the heads of some, on others thou imposest fines, and on others again thou puttest wooden necklaces. To one thou teachest spoken, to another written, and to a third other forms of incantations, yet thou conferrest no abiding spiritual knowledge. Some thou showest how to argue on learned subjects, but to all thou settest an example of covetousness in thine efforts to obtain wealth to the best of thine ability. Thou showest no mercy and never propitiatest God, O fool, but worshippest clay. It is on this account thou art doomed to wander begging. Think, thoughtless one, on Him who made men conscious ; why deemest thou Him unconscious ? Why call a stone God ? Why sellest thou thy precious soul under its value ? Thou knowest nothing, great simpleton, and yet thou callest thyself a superior pandit. Diest thou not of shame, O great boaster ? In thy pride thou forfeitest thine honour. Thou

callest thyself a prophet and pretendest to know the future, but yet thou knowest not even the past. Thou thinkest thyself very handsome and able, and claimest to be continent and physically strong. Thou sayest that Shiv is certainly in the stone, but, O great fool, thou knowest nothing. O clever man, consider in what part of the stone Parbati's lord is. Say what spiritual perfection thou attainest by bowing thy head to clay? He whom the world cannot please will not be pleased by thy offerings of rice. Thou burnest incense, blowest shells, and rainest a shower of flowers. Thou growest weary in thine endeavours, but findest not God in a stone. To those who accept not thine incantations and spells thou recitest songs and verses. In broad daylight thou stealest wealth from men's houses. Thieves, pickpockets, and robbers seeing thy cleverness are ashamed of their ignorance. Thou payest no heed to the magistrate or the judge. Thou livest by cheating thy disciples.

Rich people are like flowers, clever men like thee are the bumble-bees which, unmindful of their homes, continue to buzz over them. Every one is at last in Death's power, and yet men have departed without resigning the craving for wealth. There are no bounds to this desire. It is the only thing in this world that surviveth.

You shave the heads of some, you send others to places of pilgrimages, and at the same time ask for all they possess. Those thou seest wealthy thou entanglest in the narrow door[1] and leviest a tax at so much per head on them. Thou then lettest them pass. It is thirst for money not love of God that actuateth Brahmans.

[1] In Gaya, Kāmaksha, and other places of Hindu pilgrimage there is an aperture in a wall through which pilgrims are bidden to pass with the object of securing deliverance. When the pilgrim is a rich man, he is by some secret mechanism caught in the aperture and told that he cannot pass on account of his many sins and enormities. He is then obliged to vow to perform certain penances and make certain presents to the Brāhmans. He is only allowed to pass through the aperture when the promised money has been paid down.—*Thag Lila*, p. 34.

The Brahman

Hear, O my daughter, thou understandest not. Thou thinkest that he whom we call Shiv is a stone. All people bow their heads to Brahmans, and apply to their foreheads the water in which they have washed their feet. The whole world worshippeth them, while thou, O foolish girl, slanderest them. This salagram is the primal and ancient Brahm and is prized even by monarchs.

The Princess

Hear, O foolish Brahman, thou knowest nothing. Thou recognizest a stone as the Primal Light of the world. Thou thinkest it holdeth the Supreme Being. Thou hast taken leave of thy senses. Deceive me not, but take what thou desirest to take. Tell me not that a stone is God. While telling fools so, thou plunderest them to thy heart's content. Thou sendest men to rivers of pilgrimage to drown them in superstition. Thou makest unnumbered efforts to strip them of their wealth and not allow them to take a paisa home. Thou pretendest to find a number of inauspicious circumstances connected with a rich man, so that he may give thee feasts to bribe thee to intercede for him. When thou knowest that a man hath spent all his wealth, thou never lookest at him. Brahmans hover over money like ravens, and quarrel like kites over a fish or dogs over a bone. In public thou expoundest the Veds, but in thy heart is worship of money. Thou findest not God, thy money soon departeth, and vain is all thy service. Thou paradest thy learning, but knowest not how to unite men with God. Thou callest thyself wise and me a fool. What if thou, O idiot, eat not bhang, even still thou art not in thy senses. Everybody can see this for himself. Brave men taking bhang fight and draw elephant's teeth, and grasping the scimitar and lance fearlessly smite their enemies. Say, O tyrant, what couldst thou do even wert thou to take bhang? Thou wouldst even then, if engaged in combat, fall on thy face like a corpse through fright.

Hear, O Brahman, give instruction to fools, save me from thy lies, and preach thy falsehood to others. Why passest thou leather for metallic coin? Thou shalt go to terrible hell, and be born again as a pariah. Hung up by the heels thou shalt be tortured in the house of Death. When thou and all thy relations are suffering, what answer wilt thou make? Say what books wilt thou then read, and wilt thou then worship the lingam? Wilt thou find Shiv and Krishan there where God will send thee bound? Where thou hast no son, mother, father, or brother, will Ram come to thine assistance? Ever bow thy head to the great God whom the fourteen worlds fear, whom all recognize as the Creator and Destroyer, who hath no form or outline, whose dwelling, appearance, and name are unknown. By what name shall I speak of Him since He cannot be spoken of? He hath no father, mother, or brother, no son or grandson. Unlike Ram Chandar or Krishan He hath no male or female nurse. He needeth no army to give Him dignity. What He saith is true, and what He desireth He doeth. Some He regenerateth, and others He consigneth to perdition. He buildeth, fashioneth, createth, and again destroyeth. It is the great God I recognize as my Guru. I am His disciple and He is my priest. I am a girl made by Him. O Brahman, I worship the great God. A stone is not to my mind. I call a stone a stone. On this account people are displeased with me. I call what is false false—a matter which is disagreeable to all. I tell the truth, and pay no regard to any one. As for thee, O Brahman, art thou not ashamed of thy conduct? Fix thy thoughts even for a brief period on God.

The Brahman

God will consider him a sinner who saith that this stone is other than God, and will cast into hell any one who useth profane language regarding it. It is the primal and ancient God.

The Princess

I only worship the one great God. I regard not Shiv. Nor do I worship either Brahma or Vishnu. I fear not

your gods. Know that whoever invoketh them is already dead, but death will not approach him who meditateth on the Deathless One. He who meditateth on the Deathless One and even once invoketh His name, shall obtain wealth and perfection in every act. He who meditateth on the immortal God shall never suffer, but enjoy great happiness in the world. When death tortureth thee, O Brahman, what book wilt thou then read? Will it be the Bhāgavat [1] or the Gita? Wilt thou hold on to Ram or clutch at Krishan for protection? The gods whom thou deemest supreme have all been destroyed by Death's mace. None—not even Brahma, Vishnu, or Indar—may escape it. The gods were born as the demons were, and both are subject to transmigration. The Hindus and the Turks are the same, and death is potent over them all. Sometimes the demons killed the gods, and sometimes the gods the demons. The Being who destroyed both gods and demons is He who cherisheth me, and whom I have taken as my Guru. I bow to Him whose sovereignty is recognized in the fourteen worlds, who destroyed Indar, Vishnu, the sun, the moon,[2] Kuver, Varun, and Sheshnag.

The Brahman

Shiv removeth all the sins of him who worshippeth this stone. He who forsaketh this god and worshippeth another shall fall into hell. He who giveth money to a Brahman shall obtain tenfold in the next world. He who giveth to other than a Brahman shall derive no advantage therefrom.

The Poet

Upon this the princess took the lingam in her hand, struck the Brahman with it, and smashed all his teeth. She then took away all the Brahman's property.

The Princess

Say now, O Brahman, whither hath gone thy Shiv? He whom thou hast ever served hath broken thy teeth. The

[1] One of the eighteen Purāns.

[2] The Sikhs believe in the different creations and destructions of the world.

idol which thou hast spent thy life in invoking, hath at last entered thy mouth.

The Poet

All the property the Princess took from the Brahman she distributed among other Brahmans and then said to her antagonist, 'Never mind, thou shalt receive tenfold in the next world.'[1]

The Princess

Thou sayest to others, 'Bestow your wealth or spend it'—thou who art so miserly that thou puttest not turmeric into the dal thou eatest. Thou art very deceitful and goest about for the purpose of deceit. Thou publicly plunderest people in the market-place. Thou spendest not a kauri and art ever begging. Calling girls thy daughters thou deflourest them. Thy mother was greed, thy father avarice, and thou art the incarnation of meanness. While practising greed thou boastest of thy prodigality, so that people may think thee a monarch. Thou art utterly worthless. If any one knew the incantations thou pretendest to know he would not have to beg from door to door. By repeating even once such an incantation as thou boastest of, thou mightest fill thy house with wealth. Ram and Krishan of whom thou speakest, and those whom thou worshippest as Shiv and Brahma, were all destroyed by Death. In due time God will again give them birth. How many Ram Chandars and Krishans! How many Brahmas, Shivs, and Vishnus! The sun and moon—what are these poor wretches? Simply water-carriers at God's door. They were created in due time and Death shall destroy them all. The Vishnu who was cursed by Jalandhar's wife[2] and became a stone, thou callest a great god. Art thou not ashamed of thyself?

[1] The princess is here casting up the Brāhman's words to him.

[2] The legend is as follows:—Jalandhar was destroying the gods and none could withstand him as he had a virtuous wife. It was proposed to Vishnu to tempt her, and he accordingly simulated Jalandhar and approached her. Recognizing Vishnu by a particular mark on his side, the result of a kick given him by Bhrigu, a Rikhi, she cursed him, and he became the sālagrām stone. Vishnu in turn

The Brahman

I will go to the Raja thy father and have thee imprisoned.

The Princess

I will tell him a different story, and have both thy hands cut off. Then shall I be really the king's daughter.

The Brahman

I will promise to do what thou tellest me provided thou dismiss thy wrath.

The Princess

Worship not stones, fall at the feet of the great God.

The Poet

Then the Brahman fell at the feet of the great God, and threw his idols into the river.

Bhai Nand Lal,[1] who was a famous Sikh of Guru Gobind Rai, and wrote several works in the Persian language on the Sikh religion, thus delivered himself in his *Jot Bikas*: 'Thousands of Brahmas praise Guru Nanak, for his glory exceedeth that of them all. Thousands of Shivs and Indars place themselves at his feet, for his throne is more exalted than theirs. Thousands of Vishnus, many Rams and Krishans, thousands of Durgas and Gorakhs sacrifice themselves at his feet.' Bhai Nand Lal further on writes that as Guru Nanak, so were all the Gurus his successors, including Guru Gobind Rai. It is therefore inferred that, so far from Guru Gobind Rai worshipping or doing homage to the goddess Durga, she was an insignificant entity who did homage to him.

cursed her, and she became the tulsi plant, and grew where the sālagrām fell.

[1] An account of Bhāi Nand Lāl will subsequently be given.

Chapter X

What is called the Granth of the tenth Guru is only partially his composition. The greater portion of it was written by bards in his employ. The two works entitled Chandi Charitar and the Bhagauti ki War found in it are abridged translations by different hands[1] of the Durga Sapt Shati, or seven hundred sloks on the subject of Durga, an episode in the 'Markandeya Puran' on the contests of the goddess Durga with the demons who had made war on the gods.

Chandi Charitar I[2]

The poet in the Guru's employ, who translated this, states that he did it for amusement, but adds: 'The man who heareth or readeth this for any object shall assuredly obtain it.' This line is an abstract of the eleventh and twelfth sloks of the ninety-second canto of the original. The translator then darkly refers to a special object of his own. 'I have translated the book called the Durga Sapt Shati, the equal of which there is none. O Chandi, grant the object with which the poet has translated.' The translator's object, however, is not stated. Whether he imbibed some of the principles of Sikhism or not from the Guru cannot be ascertained, but it is clear that he was largely tinctured with Hinduism.

Chandi Charitar II

At the end of this translation is found the couplet:—

The saints who continually meditate on thee, O Chandi,
Shall at last obtain salvation and find God as their reward.

[1] Any one even moderately acquainted with Hindi can tell from the internal evidence of style that these translations have been done by different persons.

[2] European readers not familiar with Indian words, and not interested in the Hindi translations of the *Durga Sapt Shati* (Devi Mahātamya) or their object, may omit the remainder of this chapter.

This is not in the original Sanskrit, but the general sense may be inferred by a believer in Chandi from her own self-glorification in the ninety-second canto.

The first Chandi Charitar begins as follows : *Ek oamkar, Sri Wahguru ji ki fatah. Ath Chandi Charitar ukt bilas*—Now the tale (bilas) of the deeds of Chandi will be told (ukt). The second Chandi Charitar begins in the same way but without the words *ukt bilas*. The Bhagauti ki War begins as follows : *Ek oamkar Sri Wahguru ji ki fatah ! Sri Bhagauti ji sahai ! War Sri Bhagauti ji ki Patshahi das*—There is one God. Victory to the holy Wahguru ! We implore the favour of the holy Bhagauti (Sword) ! The paean of the holy Bhagauti of the tenth Guru. It thus appears that the Bhagauti ki War was written by the tenth Guru himself.

The Hindus maintain that in the tenth Guru's writings the word Bhagauti means Durga. In the two Chandi Charitars the word Bhagauti does not occur at all, and even in the Bhagauti ki War it is only found three times—once in the title of the composition, a second time in the first line, and a third time elsewhere. In the latter instance, *Lai Bhagauti Durg shah,* it is clear that the word Bhagauti means a sword—' The goddess Durga took up the sword.' This is also attested by Gur Das. In the sixth pauri of his twenty-fifth War he refers to the manner in which the signification of words is often altered, and writes—*Nam bhagauti loh gharaya* —Man hath fashioned what is called the sword (*bhagauti*) from iron.

In further proof that Bhagauti does not mean Durga in the Sikh scriptures the following line in the Ad Granth is cited—*Bhagauti mudra man mohiya maya,* the translation of which is—Men wear God's marks while their minds are fascinated with mammon.

The following are the first two pauris of the ' War Sri Bhagauti ji ki.'

Having first remembered the Sword, meditate on Guru Nanak,

Then on Guru Angad, Amar Das, and Ram Das; may they assist me!

Remember Arjan, Har Gobind, and the holy Hari Rai;

Meditate on the holy Hari Krishan, a sight of whom dispelled all sorrows.

Remember Teg Bahadur and the nine treasures shall come hastening to your homes.

Ye holy Gurus, everywhere assist us!

God having first fashioned the Sword created the whole world.

He created Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiv, and made them the sport of His omnipotence;

He made the seas and mountains of the earth, and supported the firmament without pillars;

He made the demons and the demigods, and excited dissension among them.

Having created Durga, O God, Thou didst destroy the demons.[1]

From Thee alone Ram received his power, and slew Rawan with his arrows.

From Thee alone Krishan received his power, seized Kans by the hair, and dashed him on the ground.

Very great munis and gods mortified their bodies for many ages,

But none of them found Thy limit.

The last line of the Bhagauti ki War is :—

He who sang this was not born again, that is, he obtained deliverance.

This line gives the meaning of the twenty-second slok of the ninety-second canto of the 'Markandeya Puran'.

The train of thought by which the Guru made

[1] This line shows that the Guru believed Durga to be a creation of God and not an independent divinity co-equal or co-powerful with Him and worthy of human worship.

God and the sword one was as follows: In the 'Shastar Nam Mala' is read:—

I first mention the word shatru (an enemy) and then the word daman (subduer).

Know that the words compounded mean the Lord of the world: be assured of this.

The meaning is—God subdues enemies, so does the sword; therefore the sword is God, and God is the sword.

At that time it was the custom to recite on the eve of battle the praises and warlike deeds of the brave, so that the hearts even of cowards might be inspired with eagerness for the fray. On that account the tenth Guru maintained fifty-two bards to translate the Mahabharat, the Ramayan, and the gallant achievements of Ram, Krishan, Chandi, and others. It does not follow from this that the Guru worshipped those whose acts were thus celebrated; this was only done for the purpose of inciting to bravery, dispelling cowardice, and filling the hearts of his troops with valour to defend their faith. This the Guru himself declares in his translation of the tenth canto of the Bhagawat, in which are recounted the chivalrous exploits of Krishan. He says, 'I have rendered in the vulgar dialect the tenth chapter of the Bhagawat with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare.'

Secondly, the Guru himself specially translated the praises of Chandi so that they might be chanted for warlike purposes, and that even cowards on hearing her story might obtain courage and the hearts of the brave beat with fourfold enthusiasm. Such being the achievements of a woman, what ought not a brave man to accomplish? The Guru maintained that if a man became a coward and turned away from the battle-field, he would not only become ashamed of himself, but also forfeit his advantages here and hereafter.

In the third place, the Guru desired that his Sikhs, on becoming acquainted with the Hindu sacred writings, might be able to form their own estimate of them and their inferiority to the compositions of the Gurus. Among the fifty-two bards employed by the Guru there must have been several who had suffered for their religion under the persecutions of Aurangzeb; and for their opinions the Guru cannot be held responsible.[1]

CHAPTER XI

The Guru directed all the masands to appear with their Sikh constituents before him at Anandpur at the Baisakhi festival, held about the middle of the month of April. They collected large sums of money as a preparation for their journey. Half they kept for their own use, and half they placed before the Guru. The Guru then addressed them, 'O brother masands, you have been the servants of the Guru's house since the time of Guru Ram Das. You used formerly to collect large sums of money. Why have you brought so little this year for the support of the faith?' The masands replied, 'O true Guru, the rich Sikhs are all dead, and we must take what we can obtain from the survivors.' The Guru rejoined, 'Say not that my Sikhs are poor. I am going to make them all kings. If you desire your welfare, disgorge the offerings you have received from them.' The masands became angry, and began to say among themselves, 'The Guru is of our own making. Did we not contribute the money necessary for his maintenance, no one would call him a Guru.'

The masands left the Guru's court and went to complain to Bhai Chetu, the eldest member of their body who had survived since the days of Guru Ram Das. They represented to him that no Guru had previously found fault with them, but now Guru

[1] Bhāi Dit Singh's *Durga Prabodh.*

Gobind Rai had threatened them with serious consequences. Chetu promised to speak to the Guru on their behalf, but at the same time reminded them that he was at the youthful age when men utter praise and blame without due discrimination.

Chetu kept his promise and spoke to the Guru on behalf of the masands, 'True king, the masands are all thy servants. I beg thee to treat them with respect, so that the Sikhs may follow thy example. The next time they come they will bring a larger amount of money for the supply of thy public kitchen.' The Guru replied, 'Ask their brother Sikhs here what language the masands have been using regarding me. They have stolen the Guru's money and deposited it in their own homes. They are very proud. They admit not the Guru's power. They have called my Sikhs poor, whereas I am daily advancing them and bestowing on them the sovereignty of the country. And, finally, the masands are telling me falsehoods.' Chetu begged the Guru to pardon them. The Guru then said that Chetu had countenanced them in embezzling the offerings, and that he too deserved punishment like his fellows. At this Chetu began to storm and pretend innocence. The Guru was now thoroughly satisfied that the masands had arrived at a pass where they did not believe in any Guru, and that their insolence must be checked. He therefore decided that, as the human Guruship must end with himself, so must his Sikhs be freed from the tyranny of the masands.

Chetu went to the Guru's mother, and threatened that if the Guru disowned the masands, the Sikhs would go in a body to Dhir Mal, and the Guru would be left without any means of support. When the Guru heard this, he said, 'Be not anxious, O mother, my public kitchen belongeth to the immortal God, and He will supply it with provisions.'

It happened that at that time a man arrived at Anandpur from Chetu's district. He had given

Chetu a set of bracelets made of rhinoceros hide as a present for the Guru's mother. When Chetu was questioned, he said he had duly given her the bracelets, but it was satisfactorily proved that he had not, and that he had been prevailed on by his wife to bestow them on her. Chetu was duly punished for his dishonesty.

The Guru continued to receive many complaints against the masands. One of them in particular billeted himself on a poor Sikh, and claimed sweets instead of the crushed pulse and unleavened bread which formed the staple food of his host. The masand took the bread, threw it into his host's face, and dashed the crushed pulse on the ground. He then began to abuse the Sikh, and would not cease until the poor man had sold his wife's petticoat to provide him with sweets. When the Guru was informed of this he set about punishing the masand. He ordered that henceforth the Sikhs should themselves present their offerings, and that the employment of the masands for the purpose should cease.

One day a company of mimes went to perform before the Guru. He ordered them to imitate the masands. One of them accordingly dressed as a masand, two as a masand's servants, and a fourth as a masand's courtesan riding behind him on horseback as he went to collect offerings for the Guru. The mimes portrayed to life the villanies and oppression practised by the masands. The Guru upon this finally resolved to free his Sikhs from their tyranny. He ordered that all the masands should be arraigned for their misdemeanours. He listened in every case to their defences and explanations, punished those whom he found guilty, and pardoned those who succeeded in establishing their innocence. Among the latter was a masand called Pheru, of whom mention has been made in the life of Guru Har Rai. Pheru lived in the country then called Nakka, between the rivers Ravi and Bias. The Guru ordered

that he should be brought before him. The Guru remembered an expression used by Guru Har Rai to Pheru, ' My purse is at thy disposal. Spend what thou pleasest from it.' Guru Gobind Rai added, ' The purse is thine, and its disposal is also thine.' Pheru replied, ' Great king, thine is the purse and thine also its disposal : whether I am bad or good I am thine.' The Guru knowing him to be without guile acquitted him, and with his own hands invested him with a robe of honour. Some other masands too were acquitted as the result of Pheru's pleadings on their behalf.

Once a company of Udasis brought the Guru a copy of the Granth Sahib, written with great elegance, for his attestation and signature. At that time no Granth was accepted as correct unless countersigned by the Guru. But petitioners had first to approach his minister, Diwan Nand Chand, and submit the work to him for approval. The latter observing the beautiful penmanship of the volume formed the dishonest intention of appropriating it. He told the Udasis to come in a month's time, and he would meanwhile find some means of obtaining the Guru's signature. When they returned after the expiration of that period, he told them he had not yet had an opportunity of speaking to the Guru on the subject, and suggested their waiting for another ten days. By similar subterfuges he kept the Udasis going backwards and forwards in suspense for six months. At the end of that time he asked them to take the price of the Granth Sahib from him, and prepare another for the Guru's approval. The Udasis refused, whereupon he had them forcibly expelled from Anandpur.

One day, when the Guru went hunting, the Udasis found an opportunity of complaining to him of Nand Chand's conduct. The Guru at once ordered that their Granth should be restored to them. Nand

Chand sent a message to the Guru that he was ready to return the book, but at the same time told the Udasis to leave the place at once if they valued their safety. If they made any further complaint to the Guru, they should be imprisoned and put to death. The Udasis were, however, not so easily deterred. They bided their time to approach the Guru on another occasion. They complained that Nand Chand had disobeyed his order, forcibly expelled them from the city, and threatened them with death in the event of their return and making a further complaint against him. The Guru sent a severe message to Nand Chand, 'Evil days have come for thee. As I treated the masands so shall I treat thee. If thou desire thine own welfare, restore their Granth Sahib to the Udasis.' When the Guru's message was communicated to Nand Chand, he said, 'Go away; I will not return the Granth Sahib. See, my friends, how the Guru seeketh to frighten me. Were I to shake the dust off the skirt of my coat, I could make many Gurus like him.' The Sikhs replied, 'Very well; let the Guru come to thee, and thou shalt see. He will draw no distinction between thee and thy brother masands.'

Nand Chand, shrinking from the consequences of his temerity, fled with the Granth Sahib to Kartarpur. When the Guru heard that he had fled through fear of death, he replied, 'Death will reach him there too.' When Nand Chand reached Kartarpur, he sent a message to Dhir Mal, 'Hundreds of thousands of Sikhs adhere to thy cause; they will all worship thee, and make thee the Guru of the world. It is in my power to-day to raise thee to that eminence.' Nand Chand was, however, seriously distrusted at Kartarpur. It was suspected that he had come from the Guru to practise some treachery—either to kill Dhir Mal or take possession of the town. Dhir Mal consulted his masands as to what was best

to be done. They advised that Nand Chand should be put to death according to the following stratagem. As he came to pay a visit, a musketeer should be hidden within the house to fire at him. This was agreed on. When Nand Chand entered Dhir Mal's anteroom, he received a bullet in the thigh. As he staggered, the doors were closed to prevent his escape, and he then received several fatal bullets from the roof which had been opened for the purpose.

One day the Guru saw two horsemen pass his place and then make a diversion towards the Satluj. They were Gurdas and his brother Tara, great-grandsons of Bhai Bahilo and masands of Ram Rai, who had come to seek the Guru's protection, but whose courage failed them at the last moment. The Guru caused them to be brought before him. In reply to his messenger's questions they had said that they were Bairars. When they appeared before the Guru, he detected their disguise and asked why they had falsely represented themselves as Bairars. They told their history. The Guru on his visit on a former occasion to Dehra, believing them to be trustworthy, allowed them to remain there with Panjab Kaur, Ram Rai's widow, for her protection. The other masands had poisoned Panjab Kaur's mind against them, and they now fled to the Guru for protection. On arriving at Anandpur they had heard of the Guru's treatment of other masands, and through fear turned aside to avoid him. The Guru complimented them as the descendants of Bhai Bahilo on their finally confessing the truth to him, and mentioned the respect in which Bhai Bahilo had been held by the preceding Gurus. After their repentance the Guru entertained them for some years, and then allowed them to depart to their homes.

The Guru always held the belief that it would be proper and advantageous to his Sikhs to wear long hair and otherwise not alter man's God-given body,

and he often broached the subject to them. On one occasion they replied that, if they wore long hair, they would be subjected to the banter and annoyance of both Hindus and Muhammadans. The Guru then suggested that they should wear arms, and be at all times ready to defend themselves. This advice was adopted.

In ancient times the Guru said it was the universal custom to wear one's natural hair, and he instanced the cases of Ram Chandar, Krishan, Christ, and Muhammad. 'Why should hair grow if God had meant it to be cut off? A child's hair groweth in the womb.'[1] The Guru therefore hoped that his followers would never be guilty of the sin of shaving or cutting off their hair, and those who obeyed his injunctions he promised to consider true members of his faith.

It is recorded that at this time the Sikhs lived in great social love and harmony. They regarded themselves as brothers. They used to feed one another, shampoo one another when tired, bathe one another, wash one another's clothes, and one Sikh always met another with a smile on his face and love in his heart.

A company of Sikhs came to visit the Guru and made the following representation: 'We have found it very difficult to approach thee on account of the violence of the Muhammadans. Some of our company have been killed by them on the way. Others have been wounded, and have returned to their

[1] Several texts from Hindu writings are cited on the importance and sanctity of hair. Thus in the Institutes of Manu—Even should a man be in wrath, let him never seize another by the hair. When a Brāhman commits an offence for which the members of other castes are liable to death, let his hair be shaved off as sufficient punishment.' In the *Mahābhārat* it is stated that when Arjan was, according to the laws of warfare, on the point of killing Aswatthāma for murdering the children of the Pāndavs, he appeased his wrath by merely cutting off Aswatthāma's hair. And when Krishan defeated Rukmin, who had resented the abduction of his sister Rukmini, he merely cut off his hair—a punishment deemed worse than death itself.

homes. To whom can we look for assistance but to thee?' The Guru on hearing this remained silent, and reflected that the tyranny of the Turks had certainly become intolerable, and that all religion was being banished from the land.

The Guru invited all his Sikhs to attend the great Baisakhi fair at Anandpur without shaving or cutting their hair. On finding them assembled, he ordered that carpets should be spread on a raised mound which he indicated, and that an adjacent spot should be screened off with qanats or tent walls. When this was done, the Guru ordered a confidential Sikh to go at midnight, tie five goats in the enclosure, and let no one know what he had done. The goats were duly tied, and separate orders were given to the Guru's orderlies not to go within the tent walls.

Next morning the Guru rose a watch before day, performed his devotions, and put on his arms and uniform. He then proclaimed that there should be a great open-air gathering. When all were seated he drew his sword, and asked if there was any one of his beloved Sikhs ready to lay down his life for him. No reply was given. All grew pale on hearing such a proposal. The Guru asked a second time, but with the same result. A third time he spoke in a louder voice, 'If there be any true Sikh of mine, let him give me his head as an offering and proof of his faith.' Daya Ram, a Sikh of Lahore, rose and said, 'O true king, my head is at thy service.' The Guru took his arm, led him within the enclosure, and gave him a seat. He then cut off a goat's head with one stroke of the sword, went forth and showed the dripping weapon to the multitude. The Guru again asked, 'Is there any other true Sikh who will bestow his head on me?' The crowd felt now quite convinced that the Guru was in earnest, and that he had killed Daya Ram, so no one replied. At the third time of asking Dharm Das of Dihli answered, 'O great king, take my head.' The Guru,

assuming an angry mien, took Dharm Das within the enclosure, seated him near Daya Ram, and killed another goat. The Guru then looking very fierce came forth and said, 'Is there any other Sikh who will offer me his head? I am in great need of Sikhs' heads.'

On this some remarked that the Guru had lost his reason, others went to the Guru's mother to complain, and said that he had undergone a complete change, and was no longer responsible for his actions. They instanced his sacrificing two Sikhs with apparently no object. His mother was advised to depose him and confer the Gurushipon his eldest son. She sent a messenger for him, but he was too intent on his own purpose at the time to receive messengers of any description. He called out for a third Sikh ready to offer him his life, whereupon Muhakam Chand of Dwaraka offered himself as a sacrifice. Upon this the Guru handed him into the enclosure and killed a third goat. He then came forth showing his dripping sword as before. When the Guru called out for a fourth Sikh for sacrifice, the Sikhs began to think that he was going to kill them all. Some ran away and many hung down their heads. Sahib Chand, a resident of Bidar, clasped his hands in an attitude of supplication, and said he placed his head at the Guru's disposal. The Guru took him behind the tent walls and killed a fourth goat. When he came forth as before, he asked for a fifth Sikh who was prepared to lay down his life for him. On this there was a general flight of the remaining Sikhs, and only those who were very staunch in their faith ventured to stay. Himmat of Jaggannath answered the Guru's last call, and said he might take his life also. The Guru then took him inside the enclosure and killed the remaining goat.

The Guru was now ready to sacrifice his own life for the five Sikhs who showed such devotion to him.

He clad them in splendid raiment, so that they shone like the sun, and thus addressed them : ' My brethren, you are in my form and I am in yours. He who thinketh there is any difference between us erreth exceedingly.' Then seating the five Sikhs near him, he proclaimed to the whole assembly, ' In the time of Guru Nanak, there was found one devout Sikh, namely, Guru Angad. In my time there are found five Sikhs totally devoted to the Guru. These shall lay anew the foundation of Sikhism, and the true religion shall become current and famous through the world.' The people became astonished at the Guru's expedient, and fell at the feet of the five devoted Sikhs, saying, ' Hail to the Sikh religion ! You, brethren, have established it on a permanent basis. Had we offered our heads like you, we too should be blest.'

The Guru again addressed his Sikhs : ' Since the time of Baba Nanak charanpahul hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility ; but the Khalsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger, and change my followers from Sikhs to Singhs or lions. They who accept the nectar of the pahul shall be changed before your very eyes from jackals into lions, and shall obtain empire in this world and bliss hereafter.'

According to the Persian historian Ghulam Muhai ul Din, the newswriter of the period sent the Emperor a copy of the Guru's address to his Sikhs on that occasion. It is dated the first of Baisakh, Sambat 1756 (A. D. 1699), and is as follows : ' Let all embrace one creed and obliterate differences of religion. Let the four Hindu castes who have different rules for their guidance abandon them all, adopt the one form of adoration, and become brothers. Let no one deem himself superior to another. Let none

pay heed to the Ganges, and other places of pilgrimage which are spoken of with reverence in the Shastars, or adore incarnations such as Ram, Krishan, Brahma, and Durga, but believe in Guru Nanak and the other Sikh Gurus. Let men of the four castes receive my baptism, eat out of one dish, and feel no disgust or contempt for one another.'

The newswriter, when forwarding this proclamation to his master, submitted his own report: 'When the Guru had thus addressed the crowd, several Brahmans and Khatris stood up, and said that they accepted the religion of Guru Nanak and of the other Gurus. Others, on the contrary, said that they would never accept any religion which was opposed to the teaching of the Veds and the Shastars, and that they would not renounce at the bidding of a boy the ancient faith which had descended to them from their ancestors. Thus, though several refused to accept the Guru's religion, about twenty thousand men stood up and promised to obey him, as they had the fullest faith in his divine mission.'

The Guru caused his five faithful Sikhs to stand up. He put pure water into an iron vessel and stirred it with a khanda or two-edged sword. He then repeated over it the sacred verses which he had appointed for the ceremony, namely, the Japji, the Jāpji,[1] Guru Amar Das's Anand, and certain Sawaiyas or quatrains of his own composition.

The Guru in order to show his Sikhs the potency of the baptismal nectar which he had prepared put some of it aside for birds to drink. Upon this two sparrows came and filled their beaks with it. Then flying away they began to fight, the chronicler states, like two rajas struggling for supremacy, and died by mutual slaughter. The inference was that all animals which drank the Guru's baptismal water should become powerful and warlike.

[1] The Japji is Guru Nanak's, the Jāpji the tenth Guru's own composition.

Bhai Ram Kaur, a descendant of Bhai Budha, went and told the Guru's wife, Mata Jito, that he was inaugurating a new form of baptism. He also gave her an account of the incident of the sparrows. Mata Jito, taking some Indian sweetmeats called patasha, went out of curiosity to the Guru. He said she had come at an opportune moment, and asked her to throw the sweets into the holy water. He had begun, he said, to beget the Khalsa[1] as his sons, and without a woman no son could be produced. Now that the sweets were poured into the nectar the Sikhs would be at peace with one another, otherwise they would be at continual variance.

The five Sikhs, fully dressed and accoutred, stood up before the Guru. He told them to repeat 'Wahguru' and the preamble of the Japji. He then gave them five palmfuls of the amrit[2] to drink. He sprinkled it five times on their hair, and their eyes, and caused them all to repeat 'Wahguru ji ka Khalsa, Wahguru ji ki Fatah.' On this he gave them all the appellation of Singhs or lions. He then explained to them what they might and what they might not do. They must always wear the following articles whose names begin with a K, namely, *kes*, long hair; *kangha*, a comb; *kripan*, a sword; *kachh*, short drawers; *kara*, a steel bracelet. They were enjoined to practise arms, and not show their backs to the foe in battle. They were ever to help the poor and protect those who sought their protection. They must not look with lust on another's wife or commit fornication, but adhere to their wedded spouses. They were to consider their previous castes erased, and deem themselves all brothers of one family. Sikhs were freely to intermarry among one another, but must have no social

[1] This word comes from the Arabic *khālis* pure, and was applied by Guru Gobind Singh to the Sikhs who accepted the baptism of the sword, which will presently be described.

[2] Nectar. The consecrated water used in the baptism of Sikhs is so called.

or matrimonial relations with smokers, with persons who killed their daughters, with the descendants or followers of Prithi Chand, Dhir Mal, Ram Rai, or masands, who had fallen away from the tenets and principles of Guru Nanak. They must not worship idols, cemeteries, or cremation-grounds. They must only believe in the immortal God. They must rise at dawn, bathe, read the prescribed hymns of the Gurus, meditate on the Creator, abstain from the flesh of an animal whose throat had been jagged with a knife in the Muhammadan fashion, and be loyal to their masters.[1]

When the Guru had thus administered baptism to his five tried Sikhs, he stood up before them with clasped hands, and begged them to administer baptism to himself in precisely the same way as he had administered it to them. They were astonished at such a proposal, and represented their own unworthiness and the greatness of the Guru, whom they deemed God's vicar upon earth. They asked why he made such a request, and why he stood in a suppliant posture before them. He replied, 'I am the son of the immortal God. It is by His order I have been born and have established this form of baptism. They who accept it shall henceforth be known as the Khalsa. The Khalsa is the Guru and the Guru is the Khalsa. There is no difference between you and me. As Guru Nanak seated Guru Angad on the throne, so have I made you also a Guru. Wherefore administer the baptismal nectar to me without any hesitation.' Accordingly the five Sikhs baptized the Guru with the same ceremonies and injunctions he himself had employed. He thus invested his sect with the dignity of Gurudom. The Guru called the five Sikhs who had baptized him his Panch Piyare, or five

[1] In the present day an injunction is added at the time of baptism to be loyal to the British Government, which the neophytes solemnly promise.

beloved, and himself Gobind Singh, instead of Gobind Rai, the name by which he had been previously known.

Upon this many others prepared to receive baptism. The first five to do so after the beloved of the Guru were Ram Singh, Deva Singh, Tahil Singh, Ishar Singh, and Fatah Singh. These were named the Panch *Mukte*, or the five who had obtained deliverance. After them many thousands were baptized. A supplementary ordinance was now issued that if any one cut his hair, smoked tobacco, associated with a Muhammadan woman, or ate the flesh of an animal whose throat had been jagged with a knife, he must be re-baptized, pay a fine, and promise not to offend any more : otherwise he must be held to be excommunicated from the Khalsa. The place where the Guru administered his first baptism is now known as Kesgarh.

The Sikh chronicler, Bhai Santokh Singh, has composed the following on this memorable event :—

God's Khalsa which arose is very holy. When its followers meet, they say ' Wahguru ji ki fatah ! '

The Khalsa hath abolished regard for pirs, spiritual rulers, and miracle-workers of other sects, whether Hindu or Musalman.

The world on seeing a third religion was astonished ; enemies apprehended that it would deprive them of sovereignty.

The Guru inaugurated a new custom for the establishment of the faith, the effacement of sin, and the repetition of God's name.

Chapter XII

We now come to further objections made by the Hindus to the Khalsa. They said, ' It is impossible to observe the rules of the Khalsa. How can the four castes dine together ? Were we to accept the Guru's words, there would be no trace of caste left

in the world. The Guru hath confounded the four castes. He hath stirred water with a dagger and called it nectar. No matter who cometh to him, he associateth with him without distinction of caste and without regard for the duty prescribed for his stage of life. He hath renounced the Veds and the popular beliefs, and only believeth in Asidhuj,[1] of whom we have never before heard, and who is not known even to pandits. The learned men among the Hindus preach of Ram, Krishan, and the other incarnations recorded in the Purans, and adhere to the ancient religions. Brethren, this Khalsa is a new-fangled institution for which we have no scriptural authority. It is the Guru who hath introduced this absurdity, and informed the world that there is only one caste. He hath broken the sacrificial thread of Brahmans and Khatris, and by causing them to eat together hath brought discredit on ancient customs sanctioned and hallowed by religion. He hath ordered us not to give our daughters in marriage to any one who cutteth his hair. So smitten is he with affection for his Khalsa, that he hath rejected not only the Hindu but the Muhammadan religion. He hath prohibited tobacco, pilgrimages, and periodical oblations to the manes of ancestors.'[2]

The Guru wrote to his Sikhs wherever they resided to come and accept baptism, and become members of the Khalsa. He warned those who failed to do so that they should afterwards regret it. When they met with affliction, they would be glad to seek the protection of the Khalsa, but this could only be obtained by their acceptance of baptism and by their repentance and submission. The holy Khalsa would then remove their entanglements and accept them as brothers in the faith.

[1] A name of God. He who hath the sword on his banner—an epithet invented by the tenth Guru.

[2] *Gur Bilās*, Chapter 12.

On this great occasion the hill chiefs, including Raja Ajmer Chand, the successor of the late Bhim Chand, went to visit the Guru. Ajmer Chand said, 'It is thou who hast instituted the Khalsa religion. By thy power and greatness all the Turks shall be destroyed.' The Guru replied, 'If thou be baptized and become a Sikh, thy glory shall increase tenfold.' Ajmer Chand inquired what the marks of the Guru's Sikhs were, that is, how they could be recognized. The Guru replied, 'My Sikhs shall be in their natural form, that is, without the loss of their hair or foreskin, in opposition to ordinances of the Hindus and the Muhammadans.' In reply to Ajmer Chand's further inquiries, the Guru informed him of the acts allowed and disallowed his Sikhs. Ajmer Chand replied, 'Great king, we must worship our idols and shave on the occasions of deaths in our houses. This is ordained by our religion.' The Guru replied, 'If hair were not pleasing to God, why should he have caused it to grow? In giving the baptismal nectar I change you from jackals to tigers. My Singhs shall destroy all oppressive Pathans and Mughals, and rule in the world.' Ajmer Chand said, 'That is impossible. Each Turk can eat a whole goat. How can we who only eat rice, cope with such strong men?' The Guru replied, 'My Singhs too are permitted to eat flesh, and one of them shall be able to hold his ground against one hundred thousand Turks. I will kill hawks with sparrows. O Raja, have no anxiety. I shall make men of all four castes my Singhs (lions) and destroy the Mughals. If thou too embrace my faith and become a Singh, thy realm shall abide.'

The Guru's teaching had the magical effect of changing a pariah or outcast through an interminable line of heredity into a brave and staunch soldier, as the history of the Sikh Mazhabi regiments conclusively proves. This metamorphosis has been accomplished in defiance of the hide-bound preju-

dices and conservatism of the old Hindu religious systems. Prior to the time of the Sikh Gurus no general ever conceived the idea of raising an army from men who were believed to be unclean and polluted from their birth; but the watchword and war-cry of the Sikhs 'Wāhguru ji ka Khālsa, Wāhguru ji ki fatah', and the stimulating precepts of the tenth Guru, altered what had hitherto been deemed the dregs of humanity into warriors whose prowess and loyalty never failed their leaders.

The Guru continued to address the assembled rajas: 'How has your religious, political, and social status deteriorated! You have abandoned the worship of the true God and addressed your devotions to gods, goddesses, rivers, trees, &c. Through ignorance you know not how to govern your territories; through indolence and vice you disregard the interests of your subjects. You place over them officials who not only hate you, but are besides your mortal enemies. In your quarrels regarding caste and lineage you have not adhered to the ancient divisions of Hinduism into four sections, but you have made hundreds of sub-sections and subordinate minor castes. You despise and loathe one another through your narrow prejudices, and you act contrary to the wishes of the great Almighty Father. Your morals have become so perverted that through fear and with a desire to please your Musalman rulers, you give them your daughters to gratify their lust. Self-respect hath found no place in your thoughts, and you have forgotten the history of your sires. I am intensely concerned for your fallen state. Are you not ashamed to call yourselves Rajputs when the Musalmans seize your wives and daughters before your very eyes. Your temples have been demolished and mosques built on their sites; and many of your faith have been forcibly converted to Islam. If you still possess a trace of bravery and of the ancient spirit of your

race, then listen to my advice, embrace the Khalsa religion, and gird up your loins to elevate the fallen condition of your country.' Upon this the rajas took their departure without accepting the Guru's proposal to substitute his Khalsa for existing Indian religious systems.

A Sikh called Ude Singh appeared before the Guru without any offering. He said he had one, but was unable to lift it. He had killed a tiger, but was not strong enough to bring its body to the Guru. The Guru sent for the tiger, skinned it, and clothed a potter's donkey with the skin. The donkey thus arrayed being let loose frightened all animals and rejoiced in his unmolested freedom. Several complaints and requests to kill him were made to the Guru. One day the Guru and some Sikhs went to shoot him. On hearing the noise made by the Guru's party the donkey fled for protection to his old master. The potter, seeing the animal's behaviour and movements those of a donkey and not of a tiger, and moreover hearing him bray, approached him, took off the tiger's skin, gave him a sound drubbing, and employed him as before to carry burdens. The Sikhs on hearing this asked the Guru what he meant by such a stratagem. The Guru replied, 'As long as you were bound by caste and lineage you were like donkeys and subject to low persons. I have now freed you from these entanglements and given you all worldly blessings. I have clothed you in the garb of tigers, and made you superior to all men. Enjoy happiness in this world, and the Guru will take care of you in the next, and grant you the glorious dignity of salvation. When the donkey wore a tiger's skin he was formidable, but when he fell into the potter's power he was beaten and a load put on his back. In the same way, as long as you preserve your tiger's exterior, your enemies shall fear you, and you shall be victorious, but if you part with it, and return to caste observances, you shall

revert to your asinine condition and become subject to strangers. Moreover, I have made you really tigers, and not merely given you their garb, and it is for you not to resume your caste habiliments. As I have raised you from a lowly to a lofty position by imparting to you spiritual knowledge, so if you revert to evil ways and Hindu superstitions from which I have delivered you, your last condition shall be worse than your first, for then there will be no hope of your amendment.'

Some Sikhs went to the Guru and told him that the Ranghars and Gujars of the village of Nuh had been plundering their property, but that those who were armed had successfully defended themselves. The Guru took this as a text to preach to his people the advantage of wearing arms. They who practised their use should develop their martial instincts, enhance their prestige, and defend their property, while those who remained in the slough of ancient apathy should lose all they possessed. But in addition to arms men should also come to him to be baptized, and should for the purpose appear before him with their hair uncut, with drawers, daggers, and complete armour, and retain all these objects of defence as long as they had life.

A man named Nand Lal now visited the Guru. He was son of a Vaishnav Khatri and disciple of a Bairagi. At the age of twelve years the Bairagi desired to put on his neck a wooden necklace, one of the outward symbols of his sect. Nand Lal refused, and asked to be invested with the necklace of God's name, which he might repeat to obtain future happiness. The Bairagi dismissed him, and subsequently explained his action to Nand Lal's father. He had not the particular necklace which Nand Lal had asked for, and so he set him free to select another spiritual guide.

Nand Lal was an accomplished Persian scholar. There is a tradition preserved among his descendants,

that when the King of Persia sent a dispatch to Aurangzeb, his chief courtiers were invited to draft a reply. Nand Lal's draft was deemed the most suitable, and it was accordingly selected for dispatch to Tuhran. Aurangzeb sent for Nand Lal, and after an interview remarked to his courtiers that it was a pity such a learned man should remain a Hindu. Nand Lal on being apprised of the emperor's desire to convert him to Islam, and ever thinking of the spiritual guide suitable for him, decided to flee from court and take refuge with the Guru. He communicated his intention to a friend of his, a high Muhammadan official. They resolved to go together to Anandpur and place themselves under the Guru's spiritual guidance. Nand Lal presented the Guru a Persian work called *Bandagi Nama* in praise of God, a title which the Guru changed to *Zindagi Nama,* or 'Bestower of eternal life.' The following are extracts from the work :—

Both worlds, here and hereafter, are filled with God's light ;

The sun and moon are merely servants who hold His torches.[1]

If, my friend, thou associate with the holy,
Thou shalt obtain abiding wealth.

Evil is that society from which evil resulteth,
And which will at last bring sorrow in its train.

As far as may be, remain servants and claim not to be Master : [2]

A servant ought not to search for aught but service.

Hence, my dear friend, thou oughtest to distinguish between thyself and God. Even if thou art united with

[1] This was addressed to those who held the sun and moon to be gods and objects of worship.

[2] Some Vedantists with their pantheistic ideas claim to be God Himself.

Him, utter not one word which doth not express thy subjection to Him. When Mansur said, I am God, they put his head on the gibbet.

This heart of thine, O man, is God's temple :
What shall I say ? This is God's ordinance.

Since thou knowest that God abideth in every heart,
It is thy duty to treat every one with respect.

Though thy Lord sitteth and converseth with thee,
Yet through thy stupidity thou runnest in every direction to find Him.[1]

The Omnipotent is manifested by His omnipotence.

Sweetness trickleth from the words of the holy ;
The water of life drippeth from every hair of their bodies.

The saints are the same without and within ;
Both worlds are subject to their orders.

They who search for God are ever civil.

Courtesy pointeth out the way *that leadeth to* God.
The discourteous are beyond God's kindness.[2]

In the following extract from Nand Lal's Diwan Goya, a clear distinction is drawn between God and man :—

Although the wave and the ocean both consist of water, yet there is a great difference between them. I am one wave of Thee who art an endless sea. Thou art as distinct from me as heaven is from earth.

[1] That is, thou goest on idolatrous pilgrimages

[2] After the death of Aurangzeb Bhāi Nand Lāl found a patron in his son the Emperor Bahādur Shāh, under whom he found leisure to write his works on the Sikh religion.

Chapter XIII

About this time the Guru, thinking that his kitchen was not well served, paid a visit to it in disguise, and asked for something to eat. He received various refusals from the cooks. One of them said that prayer must first be offered. Another, 'We must first give the Guru his dinner.' When the Guru had received several similar excuses and nothing to eat, though he urged that he was hungry, he went to Nand Lal to beg his dinner. Nand Lal at once brought forth flour, vegetables, salt, and clarified butter, and handed them to the supposed mendicant, who took them and departed. Next day the Guru in open court told how he had paid a visit in disguise to his kitchen, and how he had been treated. The cooks were very much ashamed and craved forgiveness. He then gave orders that every wandering Sikh who came to his door should at once receive food, whether raw or cooked, without excuse or delay. The Guru continued: 'There is nothing equal to the bestowal of food. Blest is the man who giveth to the really hungry. Let no one fix a time for the exercise of this virtue. It is not necessary to consider whether it is night or day, evening or morning, whether the moon is dark or full, or if there is a particular anniversary. Nor is it necessary to consider what the social position of the applicant may be. Avoid all delay in such a matter. Charity is of all gifts the greatest, for it saveth life.'

The Guru had an opportunity of making further trial of the masands. Some Sikhs of Patna, Manger, and other parts of Bengal came to see him. These were accompanied by Chaia and Maia, sons of Bulaki, the masand of Dhaka. One of the Sikhs presented a piece of Dhaka muslin to the Guru as an offering. His courtiers began to admire it, and said they had never before seen such a beautiful

fabric. On inquiry it was discovered that the same Sikh had previously made a similar present through the masands to the Guru's mother, but it had never reached her. Chaia and Maia were scourged as a punishment.

The Guru heard that the Ranghars and Gujars of a town called Bajrur, beyond the Satluj, had plundered some Sikhs. The Guru took occasion during one of his hunting excursions to proceed thither with a small force. The town was invested and exemplary punishment meted out to its inhabitants, so that no one might afterwards be tempted to annoy the Guru's followers.

A story is told which illustrates the Sikh view of sacred music. A Sikh complained that the musicians on one occasion began to chant before he had quite finished reciting the Sukhmani. The Guru said that reciting the Gurus' hymns bore the same comparison to chanting them to musical accompaniments as coarse pulse to sweet sacred food. The gyanis supply another comparison, and say that recitation is to chanting with music as well water, which only benefits the owner of a few fields, to rain water which sheds blessings on all.

There is an anecdote told of a Sikh who in the Guru's presence mispronounced a word in the Granth Sahib, and so gave a wrong meaning to the line in which it occurred. The Guru took the mistake as a text to preach the advantages of correct reading of the Sikh sacred hymns. 'O Sikhs, listen to what I have to tell you on this subject. Read the Gurus' hymns correctly. There is the greatest advantage in such reading, for it will ensure bliss here and hereafter. If a hymn be written incorrectly, correct it and then read it, as one may mend and use a household article which hath been broken. The man who thus correcteth not the Gurus' hymns hath no love for them.'

It will be remembered that Guru Teg Bahadur,

when in prison in Dihli, prophesied the advent of the English. One day the conversation between Guru Gobind Singh and his disciples turned on this subject. His disciples asked him what the condition of the Sikhs would be when the English arrived. The Guru replied, 'The English shall come with a great army. The Sikhs too shall be very powerful, and their army shall engage that of the English. Sometimes victory shall incline to my Sikhs, sometimes to the English. As long as the religion of the Sikhs remaineth distinct, so long shall the glory of those who profess it increase. But when the Sikhs become entangled in the love of mammon, think of nothing but their own children, their wives, and their homes; when those who administer justice oppress the poor and take bribes; when those who sit on carpets sell their daughters and sisters; when Sikhs abandon the Gurus' hymns and in lieu of them follow the Shastars and adopt the religion of the Brahmans; when Sikh rajas forsake their Gurus and fall under the influence of the priests of other religions; when they scruple not to consort with courtesans, and allow their states to be governed by evil influences, then shall the English rule and their glory increase.'[1]

The Sikhs asked the Guru what should become of the great empire of the Turks. The Guru replied, 'Aurangzeb relying on Makkan oracles is destroying the Hindu religion, and in his insane career will stop at nothing short of a miracle. He is even preparing to contend with me. He respecteth not the religion of the Gurus, but we shall gain the victory, and the glory of the Turks shall fade away. Such of them as survive shall become common labourers and suffer indignities from their masters. At the end of the Sambat year 1800 (A. D. 1743) the Sikhs shall take possession of many countries. Three years after that Sikhs shall spring out of every bush, and there

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut III, Chapter 37.

shall subsequently be terrible warfare between the Sikhs and the Muhammadans.

'A powerful monarch shall come from Kandhar[1] and destroy countless Sikhs. Their heads shall be piled in heaps. He shall continue his progress of destruction to Mathura in Hindustan, and alarm many lands. None shall be able to withstand him. As prophesied by Guru Arjan, he shall raze the temple of Amritsar to the ground, but the Sikhs shall plunder his camp on his retreat from India.

'In the Sambat year 1900 (A.D. 1843), the Turks who survive shall lose their empire. A Christian army shall come from Calcutta. The Sikhs who are at variance with one another will join them. There shall be great destruction of life, and men and women shall be expelled from their homes. The Sikhs who abandon their arms and join the Brahmans against the English, shall have great sufferings. The real Sikhs shall hold their ground and survive.'

A Sikh called Kahn Singh was once plastering a wall and let a drop of mud fall on the Guru. The Guru ordered that he should receive one slight stroke as punishment. The Sikhs exceeded their orders, and several of them beat the man severely. The Guru on discovering this wished to make reparation, and the reparation was to provide the sufferer with a wife. The Guru asked his Sikhs if any of them would give his daughter in marriage to the plasterer. All remained silent. The Guru said, 'You found it easy to obey my order to strike this man. Why not obey my present order? I find you are Sikhs only for your own advantage.'

It happened that at that time a Sikh called Ajab Singh from Kandhar was present with his virgin daughter in darbar. He said, 'O true king, my daughter is at thy disposal.' The Guru complimented him and said, 'O Sikh, thou hast to-day

[1] This refers to an invasion of Ahmad Shāh in A.D. 1762 when he blew up the Har Mandar, or Golden Temple, at Amritsar.

proved that thou art a true member of the Khalsa.' The plasterer represented that he would not marry on account of the endless troubles attending wedded life. The girl on hearing this said to him, 'By the Guru's order I am already thine. If thou accept me not, I will not wed another, but remain here to do service at the Guru's feet.' The Guru then interposed and urged the plasterer to wed the girl. He accordingly did so by Sikh marriage rites known as Anand. The Guru promised that he should have five distinguished sons as the result of his marriage, a prophecy which was duly fulfilled.

The Guru now became frequently silent, a matter which caused his mother great anxiety. Seeing him one day alone, she approached him, and after the usual blessing said, 'Blest am I that such a son hath been born from my womb; but I am now anxious regarding thee. People say that thou art completely altered. Explain why thy spirits are depressed, and thou art no longer cheerful as before.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, I will tell thee my secret. I have been considering how I may confer empire on the Khalsa.'

The Guru prescribed convivial rules as a preliminary to his great enterprise. Wherever he had a kitchen, it should be considered God's own, and the Sikhs should eat therefrom. Should any of them object on the ground of caste prejudice, he should be deemed beyond the pale of Sikhism. Before the distribution of sacred food a prayer should first be uttered. After meals the first stanza of the fifth Ashtapadi of the Sukhmani should be recited as a thanksgiving. When a man had satisfied himself at the Guru's kitchen, he should take no food away with him. When a Sikh invited another to dine with him, he should accept his hospitality and not find fault with his viands. Whenever a Sikh was hungry, he should be fed and treated with respect.

After this the Guru prescribed some general rules

for the guidance of his Sikhs. At the beginning of every work or enterprise they should recite suitable prayers. They should always assist one another, they should practise riding and the exercise of arms. If the Sikhs remembered the Guru's instruction, he promised to make all the inhabitants of India subject to them. He who cast a covetous eye on his neighbour's property should go to hell. He who assisted a Sikh to complete any worthy or noble undertaking or study, should obtain spiritual reward.

Being questioned on the subject of marriage relations, the Guru uttered the following: 'When I received understanding, my father Guru Teg Bahadur gave me this instruction, "O son, as long as there is life in thy body, make this thy sacred duty ever to love thine own wife more and more. Approach not another woman's couch either by mistake or even in a dream. Know that the love of another's wife is as a sharp dagger. Believe me, death entereth the body by making love to another's wife. They who think it great cleverness to enjoy another's wife, shall in the end die the death of dogs."'

Once when there was scarcity in the land the Guru's mother, without consulting him, ordered that food should be cooked only once a day, and even then be sparingly distributed. Upon this the Sikhs complained to the Guru. He said, 'Some evil persons have induced my mother to issue orders contrary to my wishes, but, O Khalsa, the Guru's kitchen shall be ever open. The Turks shall flay those who have given evil advice to my mother.' The Guru's mother on hearing this became much distressed, and with tears in her eyes implored her son's pardon. The Guru pardoned her, but added, 'If thou close the Guru's kitchen, my curse shall avail, but if thou keep it ever open, my curse shall be retracted.' From that day forth, twofold, nay fourfold supplies poured into the Guru's kitchen.

CHAPTER XIV

A handsome young goldsmith one day presented himself before the Guru and began to fan him. He said that his father had taken the *charanpahul* in vogue at the time of the preceding Gurus, and he himself had received baptism according to the new rite. The youth's mother accompanied him, and the Guru invited them both to stay with him. The Guru, to make trial of the goldsmith's skill, gave him ten gold muhars to convert into ornaments. When the work was subsequently submitted for the Guru's inspection he was pleased, and ordered his treasurer to keep the young artisan supplied with gold, and store all the ornaments he made from it in his treasury. The Guru asked the goldsmith if he had any faults. He replied, 'O great king, I am the slave of thy feet, I only seek the society of the saints.' Upon this the Guru replied, 'He who hath great talents must ever possess some fault. What is thine? The man possessing talent who hath no fault must be in God's own image.' The young man, however, would not admit any imperfection.

After this he was allowed to take as much gold as he pleased to work upon. It was never weighed to him, and he was never asked how much he had taken. One day the Guru told his treasurer to weigh for the future, without the goldsmith's knowledge, all the gold dispensed to him. Upon this the treasurer weighed him out twenty tolas of gold. When the goldsmith presented the ornaments made therefrom, they were found to weigh only seventeen tolas. Upon this the Guru ordered all the ornaments the youth had made since his arrival to be produced and weighed. The treasurer found them to be far short of the amount of gold taken from the treasury. On this the Guru remonstrated with the young goldsmith. 'Thou impliedst

that thou hadst no fault. What greater fault can there be than to misappropriate what is entrusted thee? Didst thou not receive thy wages from the Guru's house, and was that not sufficient remuneration for thee? Thou art as evil as the masands whom I have been punishing. I am pleased with those who, though they may wear coarse garbs, eat what they lawfully earn.' It is said that on this censure the youth reformed his ways.

The Guru being asked by a devout Sikh what he should do to cross over the world's ocean, that is, to be saved and obtain deliverance from rebirth, gave the following recipe. 'My brother, repeat the name Wahguru. Eat what thou hast diligently earned. As Baba Nanak hath said, "He who bestoweth a little out of his earnings recognizeth the right way." Bear no one enmity. Know that God is with thee at all times and remember death. Recognize the world as unreal, and God alone as real.'

A Sikh went to the Guru and told him that he had abandoned the world, as it contained only trouble and anxiety. He added that he had come in quest of rest, and requested the Guru to point out the way to him. The Guru congratulated him on having diverted his attention from the wickedness of men, and inquired if he could read. The Sikh replied in the negative. The Guru then said, 'It is necessary that thou shouldst read little or much so as to acquire understanding and improve thy mind. Thou shalt thus learn the difference between good and evil, and what thou oughtest and what thou oughtest not to do. There are besides many other advantages in reading. Thou mayest thereby obtain everything beginning with the knowledge of God. The heart of him who is uninstructed remaineth in blind ignorance. He who readeth Gurumukhi is the best and obtaineth good understanding. There is great merit in reading the Japji and the other hymns of morning and evening divine service, for they

erase the sins of many births. He who orally or mentally fixeth his attention on the Name, who worketh with his hands, who gladdeneth the hearts of holy Sikhs, who ever performeth noble deeds, and preserveth his mind humble, is very dear to me, and it behoves me to minister unto him.'

The Sikh expressed his earnest desire to learn, if he could only find a tutor. The Guru appointed his own Granthi, or reader, to instruct him. When the Sikh read as far as the line in the Anand, 'Joy, my mother, that I have found the true Guru!' he brought his tuition to an end, and never afterwards pursued his studies. The Guru, after some months, asked his Granthi how the pupil was progressing. The Granthi replied that he had not seen him since he had read that particular line of the Anand. Upon this the Guru sent for him, and asked him why he had ceased to attend his tutor. He replied that he had read enough, and had attained happiness on meeting the Guru. The Guru smiled and said, 'Even with this little learning thou hast obtained a knowledge of God, and shalt eventually find deliverance.'

The Guru once asked his Sikhs to tell him who was emperor of India in Kabir's time. One Sikh said Humayun; a second, Alexander the Great; a third, Madanpal. In short none of them could tell the emperor's name. The Guru made this a text from which to preach the advantages of knowledge, as well as holiness, and the good repute obtained from them in both worlds—'Every one, even down to ignorant women, knoweth the name of Kabir, though he was only a weaver. That is because he repeated God's name and practised true devotion. Sikandar Lodi was then emperor; but none of you even knoweth his name, and there is no trace of him left in the world, while Kabir's fame is blazoned in every country and his memory is universally honoured. Wherefore, members of the Khalsa,

remember the true Name, serve the saints, be humble, lay your love and devotion at the feet of the immortal God, and you too shall be honoured here and hereafter.'

As the Guru's power daily increased, the hill chiefs thought it expedient to send a resident to his court who would inform them of his movements and proceedings. A man called Paramanand was accordingly selected for that delicate mission. When he came to the Guru he told him that his object was to be in a position to behold him continually, and thus gain spiritual advantages. He added that he desired to send the rajas occasionally accounts of the Guru's good health and welfare, and to preserve the amicable relations which already subsisted.

Some Sikhs asked the Guru how *karah parsad* or sacred food should be prepared. He replied: 'Wash and clean the cooking-place, then procure equal portions of refined sugar, fine flour, and clarified butter. Boil the sugar in water and render it liquid. Put the clarified butter and flour into another vessel, and boil them until they assume a reddish colour. Then mix the liquefied sugar with the clarified butter and flour, and boil all together. When this is done a Granthi must repeat certain prescribed prayers. The mixture then becomes sacred food (*karah parsad*) and is fit for use.'[1] The cook must be a Sikh who has bathed in the morning and who can repeat at least the Japji from memory.

A Sikh married couple came to the Guru in order to complain against their son. They said they were satisfied with the wealth God had given them; their only trouble arose from their son's contumacy. He was ever in attendance on religious men, and paid no regard to what he ate or what he wore. If

[1] The Hindus in the preparation of their sacred food use the same ingredients, but add coco-nut as a *bonne bouche* for the goddess Durga, and anise seed as a relish for the monkey-god Hanumān.

the subject of marriage, so natural to a young man, were mentioned to him, he was ready to die as if poisoned. When pressed on the subject, he said that the Guru had forbidden his marriage. When they represented to him that the Guru himself was a married man, the youth would only say, 'He can do what he pleaseth himself. He hath forbidden me.' The Guru sent for the youth and asked when he had forbidden him. He replied, 'O Guru, in the Anand which thou wrotest as Guru Amar Das for the instruction of the Sikhs, there is the following passage :—

O dear man, do thou ever remember the True One.
This family which thou seest shall not depart with thee ;
It shall not depart with thee ; why fix thy thoughts on it ?
Never do what thou shalt have to repent of at last.
Listen thou to the instruction of the true Guru, *it is that which* shall go with thee.
Saith Nanak, O dear man, ever remember the True One.

'This instruction,' said the youth, 'is imprinted on my mind.' The Guru was so pleased on hearing this that he embraced him, and said to his parents, 'Men are continually warned, but none taketh heed. Blest is he who hath forsaken mammon. It is his good fortune that he hath awakened to contempt of the world. This son of yours shall save both your families, and you shall have another son besides to gladden your hearts.' The Guru detained the youth, and dismissed his parents. He was pleased that the spontaneous love of God had sprung up in the young man's heart, and he instructed him in the duties both of a husband and a hermit. After a comparison of both, he embraced domestic life.

Once in the sultry weather, as the Guru was perspiring, his servants took his bed from the ground floor to the top of his house. From there he heard an altercation between two Sikhs regarding a debt

of seven rupees. Mala Singh had lent this sum to Lahaura Singh, but the latter would not return it. When, at the suggestion of Mala Singh's wife, Lahaura Singh was further dunned, he composed this couplet :—

O Sikh, eat the wealth of a Sikh without anxiety ;
Thou hast come to annoy me at which I am very angry ;

and added:—

A Sikh shall receive whatever is written in his destiny.

Mala Singh replied, ' Thou embezzlest my money, and then lecturest me ; thou forgettest what hath been said :—

They whose acts are deceitful shall be punished in God's court :
Death shall smite them ; they shall greatly weep and regret when they enter hell.'

Lahaura Singh capped this with another :—

No one shall ask for an account as long as God pardoneth.[1]

The Guru overhearing this interchange of verses cried out, ' They who live and spend money by deceiving others shall be bound in God's court. Ponder on all your acts so as to preserve your honesty.' The Guru then quoted for the disputants the lines of Baba Nanak against dishonesty.

After hearing the Guru, Lahaura Singh began to speak civilly to Mala Singh, and promised to give him his money on the morrow. Lahaura Singh kept his promise, and then went to the Guru to solicit his pardon. The Guru upon this repeated for the first time his ' Muktnama ', or means of salvation. The following are its principal injunctions : ' O Sikhs, borrow not, but, if you are compelled to borrow, faithfully restore the debt. Speak not falsely and associate not with the untruthful. Associating with

[1] Guru Arjan, Māru ki Wār II.

holy men, practise truth, love truth, and clasp it to your hearts. Live by honest labour and deceive no one. Let not a Sikh be covetous. Repeat the Japji and the Japji before eating. Look not on a naked woman. Let not your thoughts turn towards that sex. Cohabit not with another's wife. Deem another's property as filth. Keep your bodies clean. Have dealings with every one, but consider yourselves distinct. Your faith and daily duties are different from theirs. Bathe every morning before repast. If your bodies endure not cold water, then heat it. Ever abstain from tobacco. Remember the one immortal God. Repeat the Rahiras in the evening and the Sohila at bedtime. Receive the baptism and teaching of the Guru, and act according to the Granth Sahib. Cling to the boat in which thou hast embarked. Wander not in search of another religion. Repeat the Gurus' hymns day and night. Marry only into the house of a Sikh. Preserve thy wife and thy children from evil company. Covet not money offered for religious purposes. Habitually attend a Sikh temple and eat a little sacred food therefrom. He who distributeth sacred food should do so in equal quantities, whether the recipients be high or low, old or young. Eat not food offered to gods or goddesses. Despise not any Sikh, and never address him without the appellation Singh. Eat regardless of caste with all Sikhs who have been baptized, and deem them your brethren. Abandon at once the company of Brahmans and Mullas who cheat men out of their wealth, of ritualists who lead Sikhs astray, and of those who give women in marriage with concealed physical defects, and thus deceive the hopes of offspring.

'Let not a Sikh have intercourse with a strange woman unless married to her according to the Sikh rites. Let him contribute a tenth part of his earnings for religious purposes. Let him bow down

at the conclusion of prayer. When a Sikh dieth, let sacred food be prepared. After his cremation let the Sohila be read and prayer offered for his soul and for the consolation of his relations. Then sacred food may be distributed. Let not the family of the deceased indulge in much mourning, or bevies of women join in lamentation. On such occasions let the Gurus' hymns be read and sung, and let all listen to them.

'Worship not an idol, and drink not the water in which it hath been bathed. The rules of caste and of the stages of Hindu life are erroneous. Let my Sikhs take care not to practise them. O Sikhs, listen to me and adopt not the ceremonies of the Hindus for the supposed advantages of the manes of ancestors.

'My face is turned towards him who calleth out to a Sikh "Wahguru ji ki Fatah!" my right shoulder towards him who returneth the salutation with love, my left shoulder towards him who returneth it as a matter of custom, and my back towards him who returneth it not at all.[1] To him who abideth by these rules I will grant a position to which no one hath yet been able to attain, and which was beyond the conception of Shankar Acharya,[2] Dattatre, Ramanuj,[3] Gorakh, and Muhammad.

'As, when rain falleth on the earth, the fields yield excellent and pleasant fruit, so he who listeneth to the Guru and attendeth to all these injunctions shall assuredly receive the reward thereof. Whoever accepteth the Guru's words, and these rules which he hath given, shall have his sins pardoned; he shall be saved from transmigration through the eighty-four lakhs of animals, and after death shall enter

[1] Mani Singh's *Gyān Ratanāwali.*

[2] The great expounder of the Vedānt or pantheistic philosophy and opponent of the Buddhists. He lived in the eighth century.

[3] An account of this saint will be given in the final volume of this work.

the Guru's abode. If any very worldly man devoted to pleasure tell you to the contrary, listen not to him, but ever follow the Guru's instruction.'

Chapter XV

A Sikh went to the Guru, to complain that his wife having been enchanted by a Muhammadan desired to embrace Islam. He prayed the Guru to perform incantations whereby his wife might adhere to her faith and conjugal duties. The Guru replied, 'Charms, incantations, and spells are useless. The Gurus' hymns alone are of any avail. No jin,[1] fairy, or demon shall approach her who daily reciteth or heareth the Japji. It is the duty of all Sikhs to give their wives religious instruction. Thy wife on receiving it shall return to her religion and allegiance to thee.'

One day the musicians were singing the story of Gopi Chand in presence of the Guru. The story being affecting, the audience were moved to tears. One man said that the musicians ought to be fined because they had in the Guru's presence sung the epic of Gopi Chand instead of the hymns of the Gurus, and it was written in the Anand that all compositions except the Gurus' were inadmissible. The Guru replied, 'Only those compositions are forbidden which lead men astray from God. When simple men sing verses which lead to a reconciliation with Him, it is not thy duty to spurn them. It cannot harm thee to listen to a story which containeth a moral.'

The Guru thought it prudent to be ever prepared for war, and he continued to enlist all who offered themselves for service. He provided them with horses and arms, and often represented to them that the power of the Turks had now grown beyond all endurance.

[1] The genius of Arabian tales.

One day as the Guru was on a hunting excursion in the Dun, Balia Chand and Alim Chand, two hill chiefs, seeing him with only a small retinue, resolved to surprise and capture him. A fight ensued, but the Sikhs were too few in number to cope with their assailants and were obliged to retreat. A Sikh trooper came upon the Guru, who had lost his way in the *mêlée*, and thus addressed him: 'As a forest hath no beauty without a tiger, so a Sikh army hath no ornament without its Guru. If thou assist us not in our present difficulty, it will be a matter of eternal reproach to thee.' The Guru then discharged five arrows at the enemy which took fatal effect. Upon this the Sikhs, though few in number, were encouraged to return to the combat. Blood was spilled on both sides like red powder at the Hindu festival of the Holi. Balia Chand, on seeing the destruction of his men, rushed forward, but found himself opposed by Ude Singh, one of the bravest soldiers of the Guru's army. Alim Chand also advanced to support the hill army, but was confronted by Alim Singh. Both sides fought desperately, and men fell like trees cut down by the woodman's axe. Alim Chand aimed a blow of his sword at Alim Singh, who received it on his shield, and then with his return blow struck off Alim Chand's right arm. Alim Chand, however, contrived to escape, leaving Balia in sole command of the hill troops. Balia Chand did not long enjoy that honour, as he was soon shot dead by Ude Singh. The hill troops, finding that one of their chiefs had fled with the loss of his arm, and that the other was dead, took to flight, leaving the honours of victory to the Guru and his Sikhs. After the battle the Guru, undismayed, continued his hunting excursion.

After this defeat, the hill chiefs thought it highly dangerous to allow the Sikhs to increase in power and number. They remarked that the Sikhs were to-day in thousands, but in a short time they

would be in millions, therefore immediate measures ought to be taken for their repression. An Indian fig-tree when small can be easily destroyed, but, if allowed to grow, it becomes a forest and cannot be eradicated. The hill chiefs therefore thought it desirable to complain to the Dihli government against the Sikhs. The Emperor Aurangzeb was still engaged in warfare in the south of India. In his absence the Subadar or viceroy of Dihli heard their representations. The hill chiefs, having traced the Guru's history from the time he had left Patna and settled with a humble following in Anandpur, thus continued: 'Knowing that he was a successor of the holy Guru Nanak, we made no objection to his residence among us. When he obtained power and we essayed to restrain him, he went to Nahan and there formed an alliance with its raja. He then came into collision with Raja Fatah Shah of Srinagar, which ultimately led to the battle of Bhangani, where there was great destruction of human life. After his return to Anandpur, the Guru established a new sect distinct from the Hindus and Muhammadans, to which he hath given the name of Khalsa. He hath united the four castes into one, and made many followers. He invited us to join him, and promised, if we consented, that we should obtain empire in this world and salvation in the next. He suggested to us that if we rose in rebellion against the Emperor, he would assist us with all his forces, because the Emperor had killed his father, and he desired to avenge his death. As we did not think it proper to oppose the Emperor, the Guru is displeased with us, and now giveth us every form of annoyance. We cannot restrain him, and have accordingly come to crave the protection of this just government against him. If the government consider us its subjects, we pray for its assistance to expel the Guru from Anandpur. Should you delay to punish and restrain him, his next

expedition will be against the capital of your empire."[1] This representation was duly submitted by the Subadar to the Emperor.

A Qazi called Salar Din came to visit the Guru, reminded him of the Sikh and Muhammadan belief in destiny, and upbraided him with having reversed the judgement of heaven. 'They on whose foreheads unfavourable destiny was written,' he said, 'have been blessed and have received from thee all bounties and good gifts in return for their services and their fidelity.' The Guru replied, 'Destiny is as the reversed letters on a seal. I bless those who bow to the Guru. The letters of their destiny then present their ordinary appearance.' This shows that the Sikhs need not implicitly believe in the controlling power of destiny.

In October, when the cold season was approaching, his troops represented to the Guru that they required warm clothing. He requested them to be patient. A Sikh, he said, was bringing him a bag of money to relieve all their necessities. A rich merchant, who had been originally a follower of Sakhi Sarwar, soon arrived with an offering of two thousand rupees, and related his story: 'While I was a follower of Sakhi Sarwar, I invested a large sum of money in merchandise, but failed to dispose of it to advantage, notwithstanding a large offering of sweets to my patron saint. That and other mercantile ventures of mine having failed, I set about finding a religious guide who possessed influence with the supreme powers. I then heard that the tenth Guru occupied the seat of the holy Guru Nanak, and I vowed that in the event of commercial success I would give him a tithe of my profits. I have accordingly brought this bag of rupees, and I promise that I will no longer be a follower of any Muhammadan, but a Sikh of the Guru.' The Guru duly baptized him and accepted his offering. The Guru was

[1] *Gur Bilās*, Chapter 14.

thus enabled to provide warm clothing for his troops, and their devotion to him and their belief in his prophetic and divine power increased in consequence.

One day when the Guru felt thirsty, he asked a Sikh to fetch him water. Before the Sikh had time to do so, a young boy, who had come to see the Guru, volunteered to perform the service. The Guru noticing that the boy's hands were soft and clean, asked him if he had any occupation. He replied in the negative. That was the first time he had ever offered to fetch water for any one. When he brought it the Guru refused to drink, saying it was impure. The boy remonstrated and insisted on its purity. The Guru replied, ' Hear me, O Sikhs, it is an important article of the Guru's faith that performing service for saints contributeth to man's salvation. The hands are purified by serving them. The feet are purified by going to behold the Guru. Without serving holy men [1] man's body is as unclean as the limbs of a corpse from which all shrink and which all fear to touch.'

The Guru quoted the following from Gur Das's Wars :—

Curses on the head which boweth not to the Guru and which toucheth not the Guru's feet ;

Curses on the eyes which instead of beholding the Guru look at another's wife ;

Curses on the ears which hear not and pay no attention to the Guru's instruction ;

Curses on the tongue which repeateth other spell than the word of the Guru ;

Curses on the hands and feet which serve not the Guru : all other work is fruitless.

His disciples are dear to the Priest ; happiness is obtained by seeking the shelter of the Guru.[2]

After this the boy placed himself under the Guru's instruction and learned to know God.

[1] The youth had not previously served any one.
[2] Wār XXVII, 10.

In due time the orders of the supreme government were received on the representation of the hill rajas' envoy to the viceroy of Dihli. An army would be sent to assist them against the Guru, if they paid its expenses, but not otherwise. They accordingly sent the necessary funds, and further represented that they had no hope except in the Emperor's assistance. The viceroy sent for Generals Din Beg and Painda Khan,[1] both commanding divisions of five thousand men, and ordered them to take their troops to resist the Guru's encroachments on the rights of the hill chiefs. When the imperial troops arrived at Ropar, they were joined by the hill chiefs at the head of their contingents. They decided to expel the Guru if he offered resistance, but, if he undertook to be a loyal subject for the future, they were prepared to allow him to abide in Anandpur.

A Sikh, hearing of the force proceeding against the Guru, hastened from Kiratpur to Anandpur to give him information. The Guru's men were soon under arms. He appointed the five whom he had first baptized, as generals of his army. The Sikh chronicler states that, when the engagement began, the Turks were roasted by the continuous and deadly fire of the Sikhs. The Guru went into the midst of his troops and gave them every form of encouragement. They never retreated, but staunchly confronted the enemy.

General Painda Khan, seeing the determined resistance of the Sikhs, shouted to his men that they were engaged in religious warfare, and called on them to fight to the death against the infidels. Upon this his troops discharged clouds of arrows, which obscured the sky. Painda Khan himself formed the design of engaging in single combat with the Guru, and thus deciding the battle. The Guru, on hearing his challenge, advanced on horseback and said, 'O Pathan, I am Guru Gobind Singh, the

[1] This is not the Painda Khān who was killed by the sixth Guru.

enemy of thy life.' On hearing this Painda Khan's eyes became bloodshot, and he vowed to fight to the death against the priest of the Sikhs. He invited the Guru to strike the first blow, so that he might not afterwards have cause for regret. The Guru refused the rôle of aggressor and said he had vowed never to strike except in self-defence.

Painda Khan whirled his horse round and round to find an opportunity of attacking the Guru and breaking his guard. At last both warriors and their horses stood still, and both sides began to speculate on their chances of victory. Painda Khan discharged an arrow which whizzed past the Guru's ear. The Guru ironically complimented him on his archery, and invited him to shoot again so that he might have no cause for remorse. Painda Khan discharged another arrow which also missed its mark. Upon this he was on the point of retreating through shame and vexation, when the Guru addressed him: 'O jackal, wait a little. Whither goest thou? It is now my turn.'

The whole of Painda Khan's body except his ears was encased in armour. The Guru knowing this discharged an arrow at his ear with such unerring aim that he fell off his horse prone on the ground, and rose no more. This, however, did not end the battle. Din Beg now assumed sole command, and urged on his troops. Maddened by Painda Khan's death they fought with great desperation, but were unable to make any impression on the solid ranks of the Sikhs. On the contrary the Sikh forces caused great destruction among them. Ajmer Chand, seeing this, prepared for flight. The other hill chiefs followed his example. By this time Din Beg was severely wounded, and began to ask himself why he should try to keep the field any longer, since all those whom he had come to assist had ingloriously fled. He accordingly beat a retreat, and was pursued by the Sikhs as far as Ropar.

The Guru sent an officer to recall his troops as he did not think it became Sikhs to take the trouble to pursue cowardly and fugitive enemies. The Sikhs returned with horses, arms, and a vast quantity of other booty taken from the Muhammadans. The Sikh chronicler states that the enemies' heads remained on the field like so many pumpkins, and that kites, ravens, and jackals hovered round them impatient for a feast.

The Guru continued to keep his troops in readiness for defence whenever attacked. He sent for armourers to make muskets, swords, and arrows, and filled his magazine with gunpowder and lead. He issued a proclamation that all Sikhs who came to see him should bring offensive and defensive weapons as offerings. Numbers, hearing of his bravery and piety, flocked to his standard. He baptized all comers and thus infused into them the spirit of the Khalsa.

The hill chiefs again took alarm and said to themselves that the Guru who had defeated Painda Khan and Din Beg, though commanding an army of ten thousand men, would be soon emboldened to oust them altogether from their territories. They must therefore either kill him or expel him from Anandpur, and with this object they again thought it necessary to seek the assistance of the Dihli government. Raja Ajmer Chand was deputed as envoy, and it was resolved to provide him with costly presents for the Emperor.

Raja Bhup Chand, now Raja of Handur, braver than his fellows, opposed the dispatch of an envoy. He said that nothing could be gained by again seeking the assistance of the Emperor. They ought to be able to defend themselves. If all the hill chiefs concerned were to contribute reasonable contingents, they could muster a large army which would be more than sufficient to annihilate the Guru and his Sikhs. He, however, proposed as the most

simple and feasible measure, to invest the Guru's capital, Anandpur, and starve its occupants into submission. Should any hill chief not join in this enterprise, the others were to hold no intercourse with him, but treat him as an enemy. The Ranghars and Gujars, who were their subjects and were at ancient enmity with the Sikhs, would now be valuable allies against the Guru. The Raja of Handur concluded his address, 'O Ajmer Chand, a reed is a frail support, but a handful of reeds bound together is not easily broken. If we all join together, the Sikhs will be powerless to offer us resistance.'

Raja Ajmer Chand was gained over by the proposal, and both he and Raja Bhup Chand sent envoys to all the hill chiefs. Upon this the Rajas of Jammu, Nurpur, Mandi, Bhutan, Kullu, Kionthal, Guler, Chamba, Srinagar, Dadhwal, and others came with their contingents. When they met in council, Raja Ajmer Chand thus addressed them: 'Hear me, O rajas, the Sikhs are not merely my enemies. They are the common enemies of all. No one is able to withstand them. They cannot even be bribed by money into submission. We know not what their Guru's designs may be. He baptizeth Sikhs, and they beget Sikhs as wicked as themselves. We know not what the Guru whispereth into their ears, that night and day they think of nothing but harrying and slaying. Give me your counsel as to what you deem best to be done.'

The rajas were unanimous in promising that they would agree to any proposal made by Raja Ajmer Chand. If the Guru, they said, were put to death they might all reign in peace. Accordingly ammunition was served out to the allied army over night, and before daybreak all were on their march to Anandpur. On arriving near the city the rajas drew up the following letter and dispatched it to the Guru: 'The land of Anandpur is ours. We allowed thy father to dwell on it, and he ever paid us rent,

but thou payest us not a single kauri. Nay, thou hast originated a new religion, and laid our country waste. We have endured this up to the present, but can now endure it no longer. Wherefore we have come to blockade thy town and destroy thee and thy Sikhs. This is the time for thee to pay arrears of rent for the occupation of our land. We call on thee to do so, and undertake to pay it regularly every year for the future. If thou art not disposed to accept these terms, then prepare for thy departure from Anandpur or take the consequences.'

To this the Guru sent reply, ' O Ajmer Chand, thou and thine allied rajas desire to take money from me ; but my father purchased and paid for the land and now the only further payment you deserve is with the sword. If you can deprive me of Anandpur, you shall have it with bullets added thereto. Seek my protection, and you shall be happy in both worlds. Seek the protection of the Khalsa too, and abandon pride. Part not with your senses and come to terms with us. This is the Guru's house, in which men shall be treated as they deserve. It is like a mirror. As men make themselves so they appear in it. If you proceed to hostilities with the Sikhs, they will not allow you to drink even a drop of water. Now is the time for a settlement. I shall act as a mediator between the Khalsa and you. You may then rule your states without apprehension.'

Chapter XVI

It was now abundantly clear to the rajas that the Guru would neither make peace nor surrender. Next morning they beat the drums of war, and, as they had anticipated, large numbers of Ranghars and Gujars under one Jagatullah flocked to their standard. The allied armies then proceeded with banners flying to Anandpur. In the van rode Kesari Chand,

the haughty chief of Jaswan, bearing himself, it was said, like a mighty elephant. The Guru prepared for defence and briefly addressed his men: 'O Khalsa, I am ever your companion and succourer. If you die fighting, you shall enjoy all the happiness reserved for martyrs, and if you survive and gain the victory, empire shall be yours.' The Sikhs were further encouraged by the arrival of five hundred men of the Manjha under Duni Chand, grandson of Bhai Salo, a distinguished Sikh who lived in the time of the fourth and fifth Gurus. Reinforcements from other quarters also arrived at this conjuncture.

The names of the weapons served out by the Guru to the Sikhs are given with minute detail: bows and arrows, *teghe* (cutlasses), *katars* (small daggers), *jamdhars* (two-edged dirks), *sarohis* (flexible swords), *sangs* (pikes), lances, *bichhuas* (daggers, literally scorpions), *jambuas* (daggers), scimitars, *selas* (spears), pistols, and muskets.

Within Anandpur were two forts, one called Fatagarh, the other Lohgarh. The Guru ordered his men not to advance beyond the city, but remain as much as possible on the defensive. Sher Singh and Nahar Singh, each commanding five hundred men, were told off to guard Lohgarh. The defence of Fatagarh was entrusted to Ude Singh, who received from Duni Chand command of the reinforcements of the Manjha. Meanwhile the allied armies advanced and fell on Anandpur like a flight of locusts.

Ajit Singh, the Guru's eldest son, now grown up to manhood, went to his father to offer him military service. He was, however, too shy to speak in his father's presence, and requested Ude Singh to speak for him. The Guru replied that it was the duty of all true Sikhs to fight for their religion, their country, and a good cause, and he was glad to see his son adopting their hereditary profession. The Guru conferred on him the command of a company of one hundred, and advised him, as he was still in-

experienced in warfare, to remain behind cover and await events.

Raja Ajmer Chand, reminding his fellow chiefs that this was really the most important engagement with the Guru, advanced with his troops. The hill chiefs opened fire with large guns on the Guru's fortresses. Raja Kesari Chand of Jaswan with his troops attacked Ude Singh's outposts. Arrows and bullets discharged from both sides fell like rain in the Indian months of Sawan and Bhadon.[1] The Ranghars and Gujars, who appear to have fought with much determination, were now reduced to half their numbers, and showed a disposition to retreat. Raja Ajmer Chand went to Jagatullah, their leader, and remonstrated with him. He called on him to avenge the sack and destruction by the Sikhs of the Ranghars' towns of Nuh and Bajrur. Jagatullah succeeded in rallying his men, and they again began to fight with great valour. Ude Singh on seeing this brought forth the Guru's son and with a strong force led an attack on the enemy. Ajit Singh displayed great heroism and address, and the Sikhs following his example chopped off the heads of the enemy, as if they were water-melons. The Guru surveyed the battle from an eminence and continued to direct his arrows with fatal precision against the allied hosts.

Several brave Sikhs made a determined stand against the enemy and forced them to retreat. On seeing this the allied chiefs held a brief council of war, wherein it was decided to dispatch Kesari Chand to attack the right flank and Jagatullah the left flank of the Guru's position, while Ajmer Chand himself and his troops made a front attack on Anandpur. Jagatullah was soon shot in the chest by a bullet discharged from Sahib Singh's musket, and fell lifeless to the earth. Man Singh, one of the bravest of the Guru's Sikhs, arrived

[1] These are the principal months of the Indian rainy season—from the early part of July to the early part of September.

bearing the Guru's standard, and planted it on the spot as an indication to the enemy that the Sikhs would not retreat a single pace, or allow them to remove Jagatullah's body.

Raja Ghumand Chand, now chief of Kangra, came and sought to uproot the Guru's standard and hinder the Sikhs from taking possession of the body of the fallen chief of the Ranghars. Upon this the allied armies rallied, and then ensued terrific slaughter. Ghumand Chand and his troops plied their arrows incessantly, but failed to cause the Sikhs to retreat. The latter defended themselves until nightfall and retained possession of Jagatullah's body. The opposing armies then retired to their respective quarters for rest. The Guru complimented his son and Sahib Singh, the slayer of Jagatullah, on their successful valour. It is stated that the leaves of the sal[1] tree were employed overnight to heal the injuries of the wounded.

The hill chiefs were in great dismay at the result of the battle, and held a council of war during the night. Raja Ajmer Chand apprehended from the resistance offered by the Sikhs to the removal of Jagatullah's body, that it would be useless to prolong the contest. If they had the same ill-fortune on the morrow, there would be little left of the hill armies. The Raja of Kangra professed himself ready to acquiesce in Raja Ajmer Chand's decision. The Raja of Mandi too was for peace, and advised suing for the Guru's pardon, seeing that he occupied Guru Nanak's spiritual throne, and there would be no indignity in appealing to him as suppliants. The Raja of Handur, however, did not consider that any reason for effecting a reconciliation. Raja Kesari Chand of Jaswan affected to despise the Guru's power, and promised to fight with more determination on the morrow and expel him from Anandpur.

[1] The *Shorea robusta*. Natural order, Dipterocarpaceae.

Next morning, when the hill armies proceeded to re-invest Anandpur, the Sikhs offered valiant resistance. The allied troops contented themselves with concentrating their attack on one particular part of the city. The fighting continued with varying fortune until the afternoon, when Ajit Singh prepared to renew the contest, and requested his father to observe how he comported himself in it. The Guru counselled caution, and forbade him to expose himself unnecessarily. At the same time he sent thousands of Sikhs to support him in what he declared was a war for the defence of their religion. The allied armies rushed against them with the violence of a torrent issuing from the Himalayas in the height of the rainy season.

Whithersoever Ajit Singh discharged his arrows, they were messengers of death. When his horse was killed under him he fought on foot, and inflicted great destruction on his opponents. He communicated his martial enthusiasm to his Sikh warriors, with the result that the hill armies began to retreat. Raja Kesari Chand, seeing this, addressed them severe reproaches, whereat they rallied and again began to ply their weapons. At the same time the enemy now clearly saw that they could not overpower the brave Sikhs, but must trust to time and the starving of the garrison for the success of their enterprise.

The siege lasted for about two months, with the usual incidents appertaining to that mode of warfare. The Sikhs at one time determined to remove the entrenchments of the enemy, and put them all to the sword without firing a shot. They accordingly made a night sortie in which several of the hill leaders were slain.

As the hill chiefs unsuccessfully prolonged the blockade, Raja Kesari Chand prepared to intoxicate an elephant and direct him against the city. Kesari Chand compared the defences of the city to paper

and sand, which would fall to the ground at the touch of the elephant's trunk. The Raja of Mandi again raised his voice in favour of peace and submission to superior force. Kesari Chand, however, swore that if he did not take the fort by evening, he was no true son of his parents. All the future punishments attaching to great crimes against the Hindu religion should be his, if he failed in his enterprise. He represented that in point of numbers the Sikhs were not even as salt in the porridge of the hillmen.

When the Guru heard of Kesari Chand's boasts he said that Duni Chand, who had brought the reinforcement of Manjha troops, was his elephant, in comparison with whom Kesari Chand's elephant was as an ant. Duni Chand, however, had no such confidence in his own strength and prowess, and counselled peace with the hill chiefs. He complained that the Guru was violent and quarrelsome, not mild and patient like his father. He therefore advised the Sikhs to fly from such a leader. None of the Guru's immediate followers would listen to such advice, but Duni Chand succeeded in persuading the troops he had brought with him to promise to desert to Dhir Mal in Kartarpur and adopt him as their guru. The plan of escape proposed was to descend by scaling-ladders. When Duni Chand was in the act of descending, his scaling-ladder gave way, and he fell heavily to the ground and broke his leg. This interfered with his design of going to Kartarpur to place himself and his troops under Dhir Mal's orders, and he consequently thought it advisable to return to his own home in Amritsar.

The next morning the Guru after his devotions observed that no soldier of Duni Chand's contingent was present. In reply to his inquiries, his Sikhs told him of the flight of Duni Chand and his followers during the night. The Guru calmly remarked, 'He

who hath run away through fear of death shall find death awaiting him at home.' The conduct of Duni Chand, notwithstanding his efforts to conceal it, became known in Amritsar. All the Sikhs of that city were thus enabled to avoid intercourse with him, and he became an object of social as well as religious detestation. One night as he rose from his bed he was bitten by a cobra, and died almost immediately. His grandsons with his leading soldiers afterwards went to the Guru to pray him to efface the stigma attached to the family—a prayer which the Guru graciously granted.

As proposed by Raja Kesari Chand, an elephant was intoxicated and prepared for the attack on Anandpur. All his body except the tip of his trunk was encased in steel. A strong spear projected from his forehead for the purpose of assault. Thus arrayed and prepared for offence and defence, he was directed towards the gate of the fort. After him came the hill rajas with their armies. They were overjoyed as they joined in the unwonted procession, and made certain that on that very evening the fort would fall into their possession. The Guru asked Vichitar Singh, one of his bravest and most powerful soldiers, to become his elephant, and he cheerfully consented. The Guru gave him a trusty lance and said that as Vichitar Singh was prepared to resist the mad elephant, so some Sikh should now go to cut off Kesari Chand's head. Ude Singh offered his services for the purpose, and received the Guru's blessing and a sword. On this he dashed into Kesari Chand's ranks like a tiger into a herd of deer.

Kesari Chand's elephant was specially directed against the fort of Lohgarh. On his way he killed some Sikhs, and so alarmed the sentries at the gate, that they deserted their posts and fled within the city for protection. Vichitar Singh found means of opening the gates and went forth to meet the furious

animal. He raised his lance and drove it through the elephant's head armour.[1] On this the animal turned round on the hill soldiers, and killed several of them with the offensive weapons attached to his trunk. Some he trod under foot and others he impaled on his tusks, so that he became a powerful ally of the Sikhs. The hillmen made great efforts to stop his career, but in vain.

Meanwhile Ude Singh continued to advance against Kesari Chand, challenged him, called him a great jackal, and asked why he was fleeing from his fate. Ude Singh vowed that he would take vengeance on him for all the Sikhs slain. Kesari Chand, infuriated at his taunts, discharged an arrow which lodged in Ude Singh's saddle-cloth. Ude Singh on this dashed forward sword in hand, and with one blow cut off Kesari Chand's head. Then poising the head on his spear, he rode into the fort to exhibit it as a tangible proof of his victory. Upon this the Sikhs rallied, and cut off all the foot soldiers of the hill army within reach. Muhakam Singh, one of the Guru's five beloved, shore off the mad elephant's trunk with one blow of his sword. The animal then hastened to the Satluj to bring his pains and his unsuccessful career to an end by self-destruction.

What remained alive of the hill army now took to flight pursued by the bravest of the Sikh warriors who slew them in numbers. In this retreat the Raja of Handur was severely wounded by the brave Sahib Singh, who thus added another to his long catalogue of triumphs.

On the morrow the hill army rallied owing to the

[1] In former times in India men were trained to contend and grapple even without weapons with elephants. In the *Mahābhārat* such a contest is described. The warrior Bhīma is represented as crouching under the body of Bhagadatta's elephant and causing the animal to whirl round and round by the deft application of his powerful arms.

encouragement given it by Ghumand Chand, the Raja of Kangra. He disdained to retreat, and called on Ajmer Chand to witness his prowess. He said that death and life were the ordinary concomitants of warfare, and bravely maintained that neither should be taken into consideration. Ajmer Chand said, 'Thou art the pilot to take us across the sea of mourning. We depend on thee to kill the Guru and thus put an end to these protracted and unsatisfactory operations.' The Raja of Mandi for the third time counselled peace. Meantime the homes of the hill rajas resounded with female lamentation for their husbands slain. Kesari Chand's ranis plucked out their hair for the loss of their brave spouse, and heaped reproaches on Ajmer Chand as responsible for all this sanguinary and unavailing warfare.

On the following day Ghumand Chand directed the efforts of his troops against the city, but the Sikhs behind their embrasures and defences were fully prepared to withstand them. The horse Ghumand Chand rode was killed by a bullet from the musket of Alim Singh. There was a sharp *mêlée* round Ghumand Chand when he fell, but his party succeeded in keeping the Sikhs at bay and rescuing their chief. The battle lasted with varying success until evening, when Ghumand Chand, as he was proceeding to his tent to take rest after the day's exertions, was mortally wounded by a chance bullet. All the hill chiefs now became disheartened and demoralized. Raja Ajmer Chand was the last to remain, but he too left Anandpur, and marched home in the dead of night.

Ajmer Chand, notwithstanding the disastrous defeat of the allied armies, determined to allow no repose to the Guru. As early as possible he dispatched an envoy to Wazir Khan,[1] the Emperor's viceroy in Sarhind, to complain that the Guru would not suffer

[1] This is, of course, not the old friend of the Guru.

His Majesty's unoffending subjects to abide in peace. He prayed the viceroy to assist the hill chiefs in destroying the Guru's power and expelling him from Anandpur. Another envoy was dispatched to the viceroy of Dihli to make a similar complaint. The two viceroys then made a joint representation to the Emperor against the Guru. It happened that at that time some wandering mimes visited the Emperor's camp. He ordered them to imitate the Sikhs, and they accordingly did so. Though their performance was obviously a travesty, the Emperor could very clearly gather from it the love the Sikhs bore one another in popular estimation; and he concluded that they had become a formidable power, which it would be expedient to crush. The viceroy of Dihli had enough to do to protect the capital during the Emperor's absence in the distant Dakhan, so orders were issued to the viceroy of Sarhind to proceed at once with his army to expel the Guru from Anandpur.

Chapter XVII

After the Guru's victory over the hill chiefs his disciples rapidly increased, and thousands of recruits were added to his army. To enhance his style and dignity he ordered that his body-guard should for the future be provided with arrows tipped with gold to the value of sixteen rupees each.

Bhai Ram Kaur, came to visit the Guru. The Guru's mother, it is said, had been expecting some holy man and was anxiously awaiting him. The Guru expressed the pleasure he felt to receive the representative of a family which ever since the days of Baba Nanak had been true and faithful to the Guru and the Sikh cause. The Guru baptized him and named him Gurbakhsh Singh. This man is principally remarkable for having, it is said, dictated

to a scribe called Sahib Singh the work entitled *Sau Sakhi*, some account of which has already been given.

One Joga Singh came from Peshawar to visit the Guru, and remained with him until the time for his marriage to a beautiful girl, when he departed to his own country. The Guru unwilling to lose his companionship, and wishing at the same time to make trial of his devotion, sent a letter to be delivered him in the midst of the marriage ceremony. It contained an order that whether Joga Singh was standing or sitting, sleeping or waking, he should on receiving it at once return to the Guru. The messenger presented the letter when only two of the marriage circumambulations had been completed. Joga Singh at once stopped the marriage ceremony, and forthwith proceeded to the Guru. On the way he plumed himself on his obedience, and thus committed the sin of pride. In further forgetfulness of the Guru's teaching, he on arriving at Hoshiarpur thought he would visit a courtesan to drown in her company his regret for the interruption of his marriage. Whenever he presented himself to the woman, a servant was found at her door to warn him away. Having waited until the early morning, he at last bethought him that he was violating the commands of the Guru, and he consequently determined to proceed on his journey. The Guru smiled on seeing him. When Joga Singh told the Sikhs the incidents of his journey, they knew that he had been saved from sin by the miraculous interposition of the Guru.

The Guru about this time heard that a large imperial army was on its way to attack Anandpur and assist the hill chiefs, so he deemed it expedient to advance to meet them on open ground. He accordingly went to Nirmoh, a village over a mile distant from Kiratpur.

Raja Ajmer Chand and the Raja of Kangra said that now was their time to seize the Guru. He

had no fort to protect him and no further means of withstanding them, and it was not necessary to await the arrival of the imperial army. Both sides were prepared for battle. The Guru and his troops took up a post on an eminence, and the hill chiefs also took up what seemed to them advantageous positions. A fierce combat ensued in which the Sikhs were ultimately victorious.

One afternoon as the Guru sat in court the hill chiefs engaged a Muhammadan gunner to kill him for adequate remuneration. Ajmer Chand undertook in the event of the assassin's success, to give him Rs. 5000 and the proprietary rights of a village. The other rajas too promised proportionate rewards. The Muhammadan assured them that all preparations for his design would be ready by the morrow.

Next day, as the Guru sat in the same place, he was warned by a Sikh of the plot against his life, and advised to take precautions. The Guru replied, 'How long am I to remain in concealment? Whatsoever the Creator hath decided shall take place.' During this conversation a cannon ball from the enemy's camp took away the servant who was fanning him. The Guru took up his bow and arrow and shot the gunner while in the act of reloading. With a second arrow the Guru killed the Muhammadan gunner's brother who also was serving the gun. On seeing these two skilled artillerymen slain, the hillmen took to flight. The Muhammadans were buried on the spot called Siyah Tibbi or black hill, and a votive temple was erected by the Sikhs to commemorate the Guru's escape.

The army of Wazir Khan, the viceroy of Sarhind, in due time proceeded against the Guru. The Guru now found himself in a very dangerous position between the hill chiefs on the one hand, and the imperial army on the other. He resolved, however, to defend himself where he was, and his Sikhs resolved to stand faithfully and valiantly by him.

They discharged arrows with fatal effect on the imperial troops as they advanced, so that corpse rolled over corpse. Wazir Khan gave an order to his troops to make a sudden rush and seize the Guru. The Guru was ably and successfully protected by his faithful son Ajit Singh and his other brave warriors. They stayed the advance of the imperial troops, and cut them down in rows, as if they had lain down to sleep in their beds. The carnage continued until night rendered it no longer possible for the adversaries to see one another.

After a council of war held during the night the crafty hill chiefs represented to Wazir Khan that the cause of enmity between the Guru and themselves was that he had tried to forcibly convert them to his religion. They also stated that the Guru had offered to join them in making war on the Emperor, whom he proposed to kill, and whose empire he promised to transfer to them. Continuing their falsehoods, they further informed Wazir Khan that they had spurned all the Guru's offers on account of their loyalty to the Emperor.

Next day the imperial army and the contingents of the hill chiefs made such a furious assault on the Guru's forces that he felt obliged to give way. For him to return to Anandpur would have been injudicious under the circumstances, and would only lead to its destruction, so he decided on retiring to Basali whose raja had frequently invited him to his capital. Then marched in the van Ude Singh, Alim Singh, Daya Singh, and Muhakam Singh in command of two thousand men. They were accompanied by the Guru's son Ajit Singh. Sahib Singh marched next with one thousand of the bravest of the Sikhs. The Guru himself took command of the rear guard.

The Guru's departure was the signal for an attack by the imperial army and a general *mêlée* ensued in which dust obscured the sky. Cries of 'Kill him!' 'Seize him!' 'Allow not the Guru to

escape!' resounded. Wazir Khan bit his thumb, and said he had never before witnessed such desperate fighting. Though the Sikhs were escaping, they were destroying his army. He urged the hill chiefs to support him, but they were unable to render effectual help. Until the Guru's army reached the Satluj there was stubborn fighting, in which the brave Sahib Singh was slain. The Guru then told his men to make a firm stand, while his son Ajit Singh crossed over with the baggage. The Guru with his troops then crossed over taking with them Sahib Singh's body. The hill chiefs were overjoyed at being, as they thought, delivered from the Guru. They made presents of elephants to Wazir Khan and departed to their homes.

The Guru having succeeded in crossing the river proceeded to Basali, and took up his residence with its hospitable raja. Wazir Khan did not avail himself of his opportunity to pursue the Guru, but returned to his viceroyalty of Sarhind. After resting himself and his troops in Basali, the Guru amused himself with the chase as of yore. He occasionally crossed over to the left bank of the Satluj and made desultory attacks on Ajmer Chand's army.

One day during the chase the Guru was met by an envoy of the Raja of Bhabaur. The raja followed close behind, and pressed the Guru to pay a visit to his capital. The Guru, to the regret of the Raja of Basali, accepted the invitation. The Raja of Bhabaur had such faith in him, and was so favourably impressed with the general repute of the excellence of his religion, that he washed his feet, and performed for him all the duties of hospitality. The raja pressed him to remain with him for some time, a request with which the Guru complied.

A company of Sikhs who had sought to make offerings to the Guru represented to him that the Ranghars and Gujars of Kalmot had violently seized

what they had intended for him. They cried for justice in the name of the Guru, but the Ranghars and Gujars heeded not their adjurations. The Guru found it necessary to punish these turbulent tribes who had never allowed him peace. His troops disarmed them and captured and destroyed their fort.

The Sikhs having now enjoyed sufficient rest began to feel time drag slowly. Their trusted leaders Daya Singh and Ude Singh represented to the Guru that it was a disgrace to have evacuated Anandpur. The Guru was not long in determining to return and ordered the drum to be beaten for the march. The hill chiefs appear to have been unprepared for his return and offered no resistance. The inhabitants of the city were delighted on seeing the Guru again among them. Buildings were repaired and decorated, and offerings of every description were made to the great spiritual and temporal leader. It was one magnificent scene of rejoicing.

Raja Ajmer Chand, the Guru's most persistent enemy, finding him again firmly established in Anandpur, thought it expedient to sue for peace. Daya Singh recommended the Guru to return a favourable answer to Ajmer Chand's prayer. The Guru accordingly wrote to say he was willing to come to terms with Ajmer Chand, but would punish him if he were again guilty of treachery. Ajmer Chand was glad to have a promise of peace for a time even with the threat held out to him; and he sent his family priest with presents and congratulations to the Guru. The other hill chiefs on hearing of Ajmer Chand's reconciliation with the Guru followed his example, and sent him tangible indications of their good-will and friendly intentions.

Chapter XVIII

In a conversation regarding the fabulous bird called *anal* in Hindi and *huma* in Persian poetry, some one remarked that arrows winged with the bird's feathers would reach a prodigious distance. The Guru remarked that, as it was the peculiarity of the bird's feathers to carry arrows to its home in the sky, so the repetition of one of the Gurus' hymns would take the soul to heaven. 'He', continued the Guru, 'who speaketh truth, who serveth the congregation of saints, and who hath confidence in the Gurus' hymns is my Sikh, and shall for ever abide in bliss.'

Several Sikhs from the north of the Panjab came to visit the Guru and present their offerings. A Sikh residing in Rohtas in the present district of Jihlam[1] thought that the most suitable offering he could make the Guru was his daughter Sahib Devi. He accordingly took her to him in a palki. The Guru, in response to this offer, said he had relinquished family life. The girl's father on hearing this became much disappointed and distressed. He pointed out that he had long since dedicated her to the Guru, that in consequence every one called her mother, and now no one would wed her after her rejection. On the other hand, if she remained single, great sin would in the estimation of pious persons attach to her parents. He accordingly pressed the Guru to reconsider his decision.

The Guru then told him to ask her if she would consent to serve him. She replied in the affirmative. The Guru upon this baptized her, gave her the name Sahib Kaur, and consigned her to his mother's apartments. There she made a vow that she would

[1] Bhāi Sukha Singh makes this event occur when the Guru was on his way to the South of India. In that case the father of the girl might have come from Rohtās in Bihār.

not touch food until she had seen the Guru. The Guru could not allow her to die of hunger, and accordingly visited her. One day as she was shampooing him, he asked her if she had any request to make. She replied, that as her two co-wives had sons, so she also desired a son to call her own. The Guru replied, 'I will give thee a son who will abide for ever. I will put the whole Khalsa into thy lap.' The lady on hearing this was much pleased, and prostrated herself before her master. It is still not an uncommon thing for a Sikh to say, when asked regarding his parentage, that his father is Guru Gobind Singh, and his mother Sahib Kaur. Such a Sikh would also say that he was born in Patna, and resided in Anandpur. Indeed, Sikhs are enjoined to give these answers at the time of baptism.

One Jagga Singh performed most assiduous service for the Guru, and was consequently much envied by his fellow servants. Some said that several men had done similar service and gone away ungrateful, and Jagga Singh was not superior to any of his predecessors. Others again said that he being a new servant was no doubt diligent, but his zeal would soon evaporate. The Guru overhearing these remarks sent for a vessel of water, a stone, and some sweets. He put the stone and sweets into the water. After a short time he ordered them to be taken out. The stone of course came out whole, but the sweets had all dissolved. The Guru read his servants a moral lesson from what they had seen. He said that those who served him well and heartily, blended with him as the sweets had done with the water; while those who served him for show and appearance, had hearts like the stone which never dissolved. He then ordered that no one should for the future molest or speak evil of his faithful servant Jagga Singh.

Raja Ajmer Chand, though outwardly professing

peace, determined to again expel the Guru from Anandpur. He accordingly sent a Brahman as an ambassador, but really as a spy on the Guru's proceedings. The Brahman on being introduced to the Guru used very mild and plausible language. The Guru, however, soon discovered that he was a very dangerous person, in no way to be trusted, soft to the touch like a snake, but filled with concealed poison. The man duly set himself to the task of ferreting out the Guru's secrets. The Guru well understood his designs, but at the same time maintained a semblance of friendship towards him. The Brahman wrote to his master to describe the excellent and confidential relations that subsisted between him and the Guru, and at the same time suggested that some dexterous persons should be sent to steal the Guru's horses. The Brahman also kept his eye on the Guru's treasury with the object of ascertaining how much it contained, and how its contents could be abstracted. In due time Raja Ajmer Chand dispatched some of the most expert thieves he could find in his state, and they succeeded in depriving the Guru of two of his favourite chargers.

The Brahman suggested to the Guru to go to the approaching fair of Rawalsar near Mandi. The other chiefs would attend, and it would be a good opportunity of cementing friendly relations with them. At the same time, he told the Guru's Sikhs as an inducement that if they went there they should see stones swim. The Guru's mother, his wives, and his sons all pressed him to visit the fair. He yielded to the wish of the majority, and ordered all preparations to be made for his departure.

The Brahman informed all the hill chiefs of the Guru's intention to appear at the fair, and suggested that they should be present also. The Guru prepared a magnificent reception for them, and they were all charmed with his engaging manners. The rajas entreated him to forget and forgive their former

offences. They were assured in reply that the Guru would treat them as they deserved at his hands.

The Guru received the wives of the rajas in a separate tent. He gave them instruction suitable to their status and position, and they were entranced with the interview. The Guru noticing their admiration told the eldest among them that it was time for their departure. The ranis were, it is said, loth to move, but the eldest lady convinced them of the propriety of terminating their visit. One of them, Padmani, daughter of the Raja of Chamba, with her father's permission, sent the Guru a letter in the form of a riddle—'What is that which is complete? What is its three-fourths? What is duality? What is departure? What are the two houses for human beings? They ate some and took the rest to sleep with them. O Guru, riddle me this.' The Guru replied :—

A god's body is complete ; a man's is only three-quarters thereof.

People run after wealth ; men and women are but dust.

People wander in both worlds after eating and spending their wealth in this.

When the world is destroyed every one goeth to sleep ; this is the answer to thy riddle, O child.

The princess was much pleased on receiving this answer, and with her father's permission went again to visit the Guru. When she made her obeisance before him he patted her on the shoulder with his bow. She said, 'I am thy worshipper ; why hast thou not patted me with thy hand?' The Guru replied he never touched any woman except his own wives with his hand.

As the Guru was returning home from the fair, he was met by the Raja of Mandi who besought him to pay a visit to his capital The Guru readily accepted the invitation. During his stay the Guru

promised the raja that Mandi should for ever remain in his line.

While the Guru was occupied with the hill chiefs, the Brahmans were counteracting his religious efforts. Sikhs who before their conversion had been Brahmans and Khatris now came in fewer numbers to visit him. They did not wish that their sacrificial threads should be thrown away among the bushes, or that they should have to part with their loin-clothes [1]. It was in vain the Guru told them that Sikhs should spring from every bush on which their sacrificial threads had been thrown. He said that they who had no faith in him might or might not come as they chose. The paltry fellows who wore threads the Guru thought of no use to him. His Sikhs should become very powerful, if they freed themselves from Brahmanical prejudices and influences, and adopted the Sikh ritual when there were births, marriages, or deaths in their families.

The Guru upon this prepared a general feast both for Sikhs and Brahmans, but the latter refused to attend, and reproached him with having taken away the distinguishing marks of the Hindus. When the Sikhs were feasting he said that as the Brahmans had forsaken him, so he would forsake them, and break off all relations with them. To some of his own people who manifested symptoms of dissatisfaction, he said that if they remained on good terms with the Khalsa, they should always be happy; otherwise sorrow should be their portion. He had given everything to the Khalsa—spiritual and temporal power, enterprise, glory, self-devotion, skill in arms, and by these should they acquire empire. His speech was heard by his first wife, and when he went to his private apartments she inquired what he had left his family. He replied that he

[1] For the *dhoti* or insecurely fastened loin-cloth worn by the Hindus the Guru substituted the short drawers called *kachh*.

had given to her children the stable empire of heaven.

His Sikhs were one day discussing idolatry. The Guru when asked to give his opinion said, 'All worship is valueless without love. The worship of images is unreal : the worship of God alone is real. Nothing can be obtained by image-worship They who place images before them and worship them are fools. Let my Sikhs ever meditate on the Immortal God and worship none besides. Let them ever practise arms, that they may be enabled to defend themselves against their enemies.'

On another occasion the Guru gave the following reply to questions put him by his Sikhs :—

He who ever thinketh of the future is accepted as the Guru's disciple.

Famine is bad, and bad is cold ; bad is the love of a courtesan ;

Bad are debt and falsehood ; utter the truth, my friends.

The Guru further advised his Sikhs not to employ an enemy as a doctor, not to listen to astrologers, to avoid greed, and to consider wealth unreal as a dream. Winding up his discourse he said, 'Let my Sikhs eschew evil, adopt what is good, and have confidence in me.'

Bishambhar of Ujjain had once fallen under the influence of the Guru's teaching and made him an offering of one hundred rupees. He now sent his son, a Vaishnav called Har Gopal, with an offering of five times that amount. The son on seeing the Guru eat meat became disgusted. The Guru said in his presence, that all relishes were pleasing to the mind. A Sikh replied that a relish was only pleasing to the tongue. Others also gave their opinions, and when it came to Har Gopal's turn, he said that the real relish was faith in Sikhism. The Guru knowing that he was not uttering his real sentiments, said, 'Thou enjoyest no such relish, for thou hast no

faith in the Sikh religion.' When the Guru addressed him further reproaches, he fell at his feet and imp'ored his pardon. He then laid his father's present of five hundred rupees before the Guru. The Guru in return gave him a steel bracelet[1] to wear, and promised that the love of God should abide in his family.

Har Gopal, not at all satisfied or convinced by the Guru's teaching or example, took his departure. On his way home he stopped at Chamkaur where he met an earnest Sikh named Dhyan Singh. He confided to him how he had wasted five hundred rupees in making a present to a Guru who ate meat. Dhyan Singh said he would restore him the money, if he in return gave him the steel bracelet and the love of God bestowed on him by the Guru. Har Gopal was delighted on receiving such an offer, and took the money in exchange for what he believed to be the worthless gifts of the Guru. He traded with the money and made a large profit. When he reached home he told his father Bishambhar all the events of the journey. Bishambhar was much distressed at his want of faith in the Guru, and remonstrated with him. Har Gopal continued his pecuniary speculations, and in the end lost all his money. He was then satisfied that this was the result of his want of faith in the Guru, and he prayed his father to take him again to the spiritual and temporal head of the Sikhs. The father was pleased to do so, and set out with his wife and all his family. On the way the party called on Dhyan Singh at Chamkaur and induced him to accompany them on their journey.

Bishambhar on reaching the Guru begged forgiveness for his unworthy son. The Guru baptized

[1] In the time of the Guru men who could afford the expense, wore gold and silver ornaments. The Guru desired to wean his followers from the practice, and counselled them to depend on steel both for ornaments and defensive weapons.

them all, and thus addressed Har Gopal—'Thou oughtest to have had confidence in my words. He who believeth that the ten Gurus are all the same is a Sikh of mine. Look on the hymns of the Granth as the embodiment of the true Guru. Put faith in the Guru, and becoming a Sikh perform thy worldly duties. With humble words induct others into the faith, and give thy daughter to a Sikh. Let him who is a Sikh according to the old rites, marry his daughter to him who is a Sikh according to the new rites. If a Sikh cannot find a husband according to the new rites for his daughter, then let him give her to him who is a Sikh according to the old rites, but willing to receive Sikh baptism. Let a Sikh receive instruction from another Sikh, and not consider whether he is of high or low degree. Look on him as a good Sikh who thinketh not of caste or lineage. Let a Sikh be honest in his dealings, and pray for him who affordeth him maintenance. Whoever of the rank of Sikh committeth treachery shall find no place of rest.

'Love the Name; repeat it in thine innermost heart; teach the Name. In the Name is happiness; the Name is a generous companion. He who liveth for his religion, who eateth only to support his body, who walketh in the Guru's way, and who is not enamoured of the world, is my friend. As when a traveller goeth to a foreign land and is ever hoping for the end of his journey, so should man hope for his soul's final repose by doing good works and remaining estranged from the world. Listen to me, my friend, and be ever ready to leave this life. Thou and I shall depart. This is not a new ordinance.'

After this the father and son proceeded rejoicing to their home. In the course of a short time their wealth increased, and Har Gopal recovered all that he had lost. Dhyan Singh told the Guru that, as he was ploughing in his field on the day after he

had received the bracelet and God's love from Har Gopal, his plough exposed a buried treasure of great value. The Guru congratulated him and called him a devout Sikh who would always possess God's love and favour.

One day Mata Jito, the Guru's wife, appeared before him and said, 'Thou bestowest on thy Sikhs deliverance, union with God, and worldly blessings. Let me also be a partaker of thy gifts.' The Guru told her to continually repeat Wahguru with fixed attention, and she should obtain what her heart desired. After some time she acquired by her devotion a knowledge of the future, and went to the Guru in great tribulation. She said, 'Mercifully save thy children, for I foresee thou art going to make them martyrs to thy cause.' The Guru replied, 'Is it to reverse God's decree thou didst receive instruction from me? I intended that thou shouldst abandon worldly love, but it hath increased all the more. I have already granted thy sons high rank in God's court. Wherefore anticipate not their fate.' Jito, understanding that the Guru did not intend to save the lives of his children, said she was going to abandon her body for she could not bear to behold their death. The Guru replied, 'It is well; thou mayest go; thy children shall follow thee. Death is the law of all bodies. Some may perish four days before and some four days after; but all must sooner or later pay the debt they owe.' Upon this, it is said, Jito permanently suspended her breath, and her soul took flight to heaven.

One day the conversation turned on an expression used by Guru Har Rai, that the vessel which Baba Nanak had constructed for the salvation of the world had almost foundered. Guru Gobind Singh vowed that he would repair it for the deliverance of his Sikhs. On that occasion he gave the following instruction to his assembled Sikhs—'I have established the Khalsa for the advancement

of true religion. Let not my Sikhs live on religious offerings. He who bound by greed obeyeth me not in this, shall be born again as a hog. Religious offerings have the same dissolving effect on men's minds as borax on gold.' He then quoted the following lines from Gur Das :—

As it is the custom of Hindus to abstain from the flesh of kine,

As swine and interest are solemnly forbidden the Muhammadans,

As it is sinful for a father-in-law to drink even water in his son-in-law's house,

As even a sweeper though hungry will not eat hare's flesh,[1]

As a fly gaineth no advantage but dieth in the clasp of honey,

So is greed for sacred offerings which are like poison coated with sugar.[2]

'Let those who are baptized according to my rites bear arms and live according to their means. Let them remain true to their sovereign in the battle-field, and not turn their backs to the foe. Let them face and repel their enemies, and they shall obtain both glory in this world and the heroes' heaven in the next. He who fleeth from the battle-field shall be dishonoured in this world, and when he dieth shall be punished for his cowardice, and nowhere shall he obtain a state of happiness. Let the members of the Khalsa associate with one another and love one another irrespective of tribe or caste. Let them hearken to the Guru's instruction, and let their minds be thoroughly imbued with it.'

[1] The Shiāh Muhammadans will not eat hare. In the Qurān blood is forbidden as food, and it is believed by Shiāhs that blood does not separate by any process from hare's flesh. Lāl Beg, the sweepers' Pīr, was a Shiāh Muhammadan, so they adopt his prejudice in this matter.

[2] Wār XXXV, 12.

It is said that, as the Guru was one day hunting, he came on a field of tobacco. He reined in his horse and gave expression to his hatred of the plant. He maintained that it burned the chest, induced nervousness, palpitation, bronchitis, and other diseases, and finally caused death. He therefore counselled his Sikhs to abstain from the destructive drug, and thus concluded his discourse—'Wine is bad, bhang destroyeth one generation, but tobacco destroyeth all generations.'

The custom of sale and barter of horses and other animals at religious fairs prevailed even in the time of the Guru. He went to a fair held in Kurkhetar on the occasion of a solar eclipse in order to purchase horses to replace those which had been stolen or killed in the previous warfare. Among other admirers Madan Nath, a superior of Jogis, waited on him. On seeing the Guru he remarked that he had the external appearance of a lion, but that he was inwardly a saint. The Guru explained that his external appearance had been assumed with the object of inspiring terror into the Turks, who had inflicted great misery and hardship on his country.

Chapter XIX

Two Muhammadan generals, Saiyad Beg[1] and Alif Khan, were on their way from Lahore to Dihli. They were each in command of five thousand men. Raja Ajmer Chand having heard of them thought he would try to secure their assistance to attack the Guru. The generals on receiving a promise of one thousand rupees a day promised Ajmer Chand their assistance. Saiyad Beg, however, on subsequently hearing favourable accounts of the Guru

[1] The word Saiyid (سيّد) is different from *saiyād* (صيّاد), which literally means a hunter, and forms the first part of the name of the general above mentioned.

and his Sikhs, changed his determination and withdrew from the Muhammadan army. The battle which ensued began with great fury between the Guru's and Alif Khan's troops. At a critical moment Saiyad Beg approached the Sikhs, and said that as they believed in the Guru, so did he, and he would therefore fight on their side. Alif Khan, on seeing that Saiyad Beg had joined the Sikhs, concluded that he had no chance of victory, and retired from the contest. He was hotly pursued by the Sikhs and Saiyad Beg. On the return of the latter from the pursuit, he alighted from his horse and went to offer his obeisance to the Guru. Having broken with the Emperor, whose servant he had been, he threw in his lot with the Sikhs, gave them all his wealth to assist them in their struggles with the Muhammadans, and remained with the Guru as a trusty and powerful ally.

A Brahman appeared one day in the Guru's court, and with a loud voice invoked his assistance against some Pathans who had forcibly abducted his bride at Bassi near Hoshiarpur. The Guru directed his son Ajit Singh to go with one hundred horse, fall suddenly on the Pathans at night, and restore the Brahman his bride. The expedition was carefully planned and courageously executed. In the early morning Ajit Singh produced before the Guru the Brahman's bride and the offending Pathans. The latter received condign punishment.

Raja Ajmer Chand again summoned his allies with the object of chastising the Guru. There came to him Raja Bhup Chand, Raja Wazir Singh, and Raja Dev Saran. Raja Ajmer Chand made a speech in which he warned his brother chiefs of the fate in store for them from the Guru, and advised them to join him in another expedition to crush him. They all expressed themselves in favour of immediate measures, and addressed the Guru a joint letter to the effect that they had lived peace-

ably for some time, but found he would not cease his aggression, and they were therefore obliged to declare war against him. The Guru briefly replied—'My Sikhs have only come into collision with those who wantonly annoyed them. The Khalsa are ever awaiting battle. To fight and die is the duty of the brave. Come and see the power of the Khalsa.'

The hill chiefs on receiving this reply took the field without delay. It is said that they marched against Anandpur with ten thousand men. Saiyad Beg had not been able to induce his large force to remain with him, so the Guru's available force at this time did not exceed eight hundred men. In the former battles of Anandpur the Sikhs appear to have remained behind their battlements and embrasures. On this occasion different tactics were adopted. They met the enemy in the open field outside Anandpur. The Sikhs fought with their usual courage and determination. Raja Ajmer Chand, on witnessing their prowess and the carnage they caused, retired from the battle in despair. The other hill chiefs continued the fight, but put themselves in the rear of their troops. Alim Singh and Ude Singh displayed their usual valour on behalf of the Guru. They wished to charge the hill hosts, but the Guru restrained them, and ordered them to use their muskets and arrows from where they stood. They obeyed the Guru, and plied their offensive weapons with signal success. The hill troops on seeing their own van stricken down retreated.

The Guru surveyed the battle from a distance. He was delighted as he saw the enemy fleeing in every direction. The Sikhs now flushed with victory forgot his orders and pursued the retreating hill troops. The Guru was displeased at the temerity of his men, and mounting his horse rode back to Anandpur. The Sikh force, on finding the Guru had left them, lost heart, retreated, and were in

turn pursued by the enemy. On their return to Anandpur they tried to obtain the Guru's forgiveness, but he refused to speak to them. At last, yielding to the entreaties of Naurang Singh, one of his foremost warriors, he resolved to receive and pardon them. He said the Guru was the Khalsa and the Khalsa the Guru, and the old friendly and affectionate relations were renewed. He then ordered his troops to return to the field and oppose the enemy. He took up his own bow and effected the usual destruction in the hostile ranks. This was the signal for the Sikhs to second his efforts and fall on the hill army like tigers on deer. Then ensued fearful carnage, upon which the hill troops again took to flight. Their leaders tried to restrain them, but in vain. The battle was at an end, and both sides departed to their homes.

Raja Ajmer Chand, however, was not satisfied. He proposed to his brother chiefs that they should again make war on the Guru, this time with the assistance of the imperial troops. They accordingly sent an envoy to Aurangzeb, and prayed him to protect them against Guru Gobind Singh. They represented that they were ancient subjects of His Majesty, and would give him large tribute as the price of his assistance and protection.

Meantime there were great rejoicings in the Guru's camp, and the wounded were carefully attended to. Bir Singh, Madan Singh, a Rajput chief, and Sham Singh visited the Guru. Sham Singh pointed out to him that the Muhammadans and Hindus were very numerous, and how could the Sikhs who were so few contend against them, much less hope to obtain empire? The Guru replied, 'What God willeth shall take place. When the army of the Turks cometh, my Sikhs shall strike steel on steel. The Khalsa shall then awake, and know the play of battle. Amid the clash of arms the Khalsa shall be partners in present and future

bliss, tranquillity, meditation, virtue, and divine knowledge. Then shall the English come, and joined by the Khalsa rule as well in the East as in the West. The holy Baba Nanak shall bestow all wealth on them. The English shall possess great power, and by force of arms take possession of many principalities. The combined armies of the English and Sikhs shall be very powerful as long as they rule with united councils. The empire of the English shall vastly increase, and they shall in every way attain prosperity. Wherever they take their armies they shall conquer, and bestow thrones on those who assist them. Then in every house shall be wealth, in every house happiness, in every house rejoicing, in every house religion, in every house learning, and in every house a woman.[1] The English shall rule for a long time.'[2] At the conclusion of the Guru's apocalypse the Sikhs respectfully bowed.

The Guru was asked to describe the state of the baptized Sikhs, whereupon he gave Alim Singh as an example. 'He was', the Guru said, 'originally a Brahman, but on adopting the religion of arms he now shineth like Indar. He ever worshippeth the Sword. He never accepteth gifts or invitations to feasts. I took away his sacrificial thread because if he retained it, he would still be a Brahman, and subject to Brahmanical superstitions.'

The Guru continued to instruct his Sikhs—'He who weareth long hair without receiving baptism is a hypocritical and foolish Sikh. I will not show myself to him. It is best to adopt one religion and not distract one's mind with others. They who call themselves my Sikhs and stray to other creeds are

[1] Under Muhammadan rule the Muhammadans used often to deprive the Hindus of their wives and daughters. In many cases, too, the subjects were too poor to purchase wives for themselves. The Guru possibly also meant that his Sikhs should embrace domestic lives, and cease to demean themselves by religious mendicancy.

[2] *Sūraj Parkāsh*, Rut V, Chapter 36.

sinners. Let no Sikh associate with, much less offer presents to, those who worship Sarwar, Gugga,[1] and similar pirs, or with the misguided men who by order of their wives visit male and female Brahmans to have their fortunes told. He who giveth alms to Brahmans, who slandereth the Guru and his Sikhs, shall lay up for himself suffering. Put away from among you the hypocritical Brahman who, though he receive my baptism, removeth his hair in the fashion of the Hindus.

'Let not any Sikh of mine worship Hindu or Muhammadan cemeteries and places of cremation, or give alms to one who weareth a religious garb for ostentation. I have forsworn such a person, if any there be, and let him who stupidly worshippeth false gods forswear me. He who feedeth the traveller, who giveth alms on the occasion of the Gurus' anniversaries, and who hath faith in the Guru shall hereafter go to the Gurus' abode. Let not my Sikhs look at Brahmans who reside at places of pilgrimage, or at those who don religious garbs and strut foppishly. Let my Sikhs abide apart, and be ever full of thoughts of God.

'He who giveth his daughter in marriage to a Sikh and taketh no money for her, is a Sikh of mine, and shall after his death reach mine abode. Let Sikh men and women sit together and hold divine discourse. Let them worship God themselves, and teach their children to do so. My Sikhs may receive a voluntary offering for reading the Granth, or for copying it, but must not demand remuneration. Let the Sikh priest who receiveth an offering of money feed the poor before he feedeth himself. Let not my Sikhs be covetous. They who disobey this order shall receive punishment from God. I love

[1] Gugga is the name of a saint who is supposed to have become a serpent and vanished beneath the earth. In the Panjāb he is worshipped by Hindus of the lower classes on the ninth day of Bhādon.

neither religious garbs nor castes. Men's observance of the Sikh tenets is dear to me, but still dearer is their observance with sincerity. Let my Sikh love not the world, but pass his time as if he were to die to-day or to-morrow. Let him be ever true to his sovereign. Let him cherish his neighbour, and seek after righteousness. Let him eat and worship at fixed times. Let him shake off sloth and sing the Gurus' hymns. Hear me, O Sikhs, practise not selfishness. Assist men whether of high or low degree, but contract not friendship with the evil. False is he who maketh promises without intention of fulfilment.

'Let him who calleth himself a true Sikh of mine, accept baptism and do good acts, so shall his previous sins all depart on his seeking the Guru's protection. Let him renounce the service of demons and sprites, and not worship stones or false gods. The hypocrites who stop their noses under pretence of meditation and count their beads are very impure. Why do the fools into whose hearts God's love entereth not, wander to places of pilgrimage?'

On another occasion his Sikhs requested the Guru to give them further instruction that would aid them in their temporal affairs and ensure their deliverance from transmigration. At that moment the Guru was engaged in other affairs, and he delegated Daya Singh to deliver the necessary instruction. Daya Singh thus spoke, 'Act as follows and you shall be happy—Clothe and feed the Sikhs as far as your means allow, shampoo them, and bathe them, wash their clothes, fan them when they perspire, wipe their shoes, wash their feet, scour the dishes from which they have eaten, draw them cool water from the well, and cook their food with the utmost attention and cleanliness. Let them perform night and day these and other similar offices for the Sikhs, commit to memory the Gurus' hymns, and repeat the True Name.

'On seeing any person involved in trouble take compassion on him, and remove his sufferings to the best of your ability. The exercise of mercy and compassion is very meritorious. He who practiseth these virtues becometh the greatest of the great, and the primal supreme Being will be merciful unto him.

'Speak the truth. This bringeth great comfort. Renounce falsehood which bringeth great misery in its train. On seeing another's happiness be not envious thereof; why attach sin to yourselves for no sufficient reason? In the first place, your jealousy will cause you annoyance, and you shall gain nothing therefrom; and, in the second place, God will be angry with you and say, "It is I who gave, and yet this man is burning with envy." There are also other evils attendant on this passion.

'Abandon covetousness, practise contentment, covet not another's wife, another's wealth, or another's children. If you do, you shall assuredly suffer. My friends, practise not oppression on those whom you know to be weaker than yourselves. Be not proud of the possession of learning, beauty, great intellect, untold wealth, or similar fleeting advantages. Above all deem the bountiful Creator One alone.

'If he who doeth good acts practise pride, they shall be as futile as the bathing of an elephant. Indulge not in praise of yourselves or dispraise of others. If you do, it will be a great sin. If ever you make a gift, boast not of it, but rather strive to conceal it. Speak civilly and satisfy everybody. Use not harsh language and annoy no one. Obtain wealth by honest means and share your meals with strangers.

'Wear not dirty clothes, so shall your bodies be ever clean. Associate not with thieves, adulterers, highway robbers, gamblers, ingrates, thags, deceivers, or men of bad livelihood. Remember the sinner is worse than the sin, for he is the cause thereof.

When you see an evil man, avoid him at once like red-hot iron which cannot be held in the hand. Associate with the good, for in such association vice is put to shame. Listen to the history of the lives of the Gurus. Afterwards where there is discourse of God, listen to it with rapt attention.

'Bathe in holy Amritsar. Behold God's temple where the Gurus' words are ever repeated. Sit down therein respectfully, and allow your minds to think of nothing but God. Ever look with devotion on where His light is resplendent, whether you go there on the occasion of the Gurus' anniversaries, or visit the place every six months, or once a year if you live at a distance. If he who deemeth himself a Sikh behold not Amritsar, why did he take birth in the world? Unprofitable was his advent, and he shall afterwards regret his negligence.'

The Guru kept fifty-two bards permanently in his employ and others occasionally visited him. They wrote on all the nine subjects which in the opinion of Orientals are suitable themes for poetry;[1] but the composition of eulogies on the Guru occupied most of their attention. The Guru once had the curiosity to weigh their compositions. They amounted to about two and a half hundredweight. The Guru included them in a compilation which he called *Vidyadhar*. He so valued the book that he ever kept it by him—even when he went into battle—but it was lost in one of his engagements. Some of the bards' compositions are preserved in the *Suraj Parkash*, where they may be perused by the curious

[1] The nine subjects are love, mirth, pity, anger, heroism, terror, hate, wonder, and contentment.

Chapter XX

Owing to the repeated representations of the hill chiefs, the Emperor sent a large army under Saiyad Khan to reduce the Guru to submission. The Guru received intelligence that the imperial army had arrived in Thanesar, and would soon reach Anandpur. On hearing this he mustered his troops, and found they were only five hundred strong. The rest of his army had dispersed to their homes. Nothing now remained for the Guru but to make the best defence he could with his present force. In a few days Saiyad Khan's troops appeared in sight singing a war hymn to stimulate their spirits.

Maimun Khan, a faithful Musalman who had attached himself to the Guru, said that he was indebted to him for many favours, and asked permission to show his prowess. The Guru gave him a bow, and told him he would do well to kill even his own co-religionists on account of their misdeeds. The brave and faithful Saiyad Beg also came forward to continue his services to the Guru, Both Musalmans went like tigers into the battle, and were followed by the Sikhs. The latter represented to the Guru that it was futile to contend with such a large army as had now appeared. The Guru in reply encouraged them, and they advanced boldly against the enemy. The early part of the battle was signalized by a fierce single-handed combat between a hill chief and Saiyad Beg. After they had repeatedly missed each other, Saiyad Beg at last struck off the hill chief's head. On seeing this Din Beg of the imperial army rushed at Saiyad Beg, for whom he cherished a double hatred as the slayer of the hill chief, and as a deserter from his sovereign, and mortally wounded him. Saiyad Beg died praising the Guru. Then ensued a general engagement of both armies. The Sikhs performed pro-

digies of valour, and the Musalmans are said to have fallen to the earth like minarets toppling from their heights. Maimun Khan charged on horseback in every direction and committed great havoc among the imperial troops.

An unexpected circumstance now occurred. Saiyad Khan, the general of the imperial troops, had long been a secret friend of the Guru, and when he heard that an expedition was to be sent against him, contrived to be put in command of it, so that he might at last be able to behold the great priest of the Sikhs, and do him signal service. The Guru knew what was passing in Saiyad Khan's mind, and advanced ostensibly to challenge him, saying, 'If thou attack me not, I will not attack thee.' Saiyad Khan on obtaining the wish of his heart to behold the Guru, said that he was the Guru's servant and slave, and that he would never fight against him. The Guru replied, 'I am a poor man. It is only rich men who have slaves. To conquer in war is ever held honourable.'

Saiyad Khan dismounted and fell at the Guru's feet. The Guru conferred on him the true Name and the supreme reward of salvation. Saiyad Khan, however, did not actively assist the Sikhs, but turned aside from the battle as he was unable to restrain his troops or divert their energies to the Guru's assistance. They made a fierce onslaught on the Guru's soldiers, who began to retire, overpowered as they were by a multitudinous host. But at a critical moment the Sikh war-cry was raised, upon which the Sikhs rallied and presented a bold front to the enemy. After Saiyad Khan's defection from the imperial cause, Ramzan Khan took command and fought with great bravery against the Sikhs. The Guru seeing this let fly an arrow at him which killed his horse.

The Guru on closely observing the combat saw that there was no chance of retrieving his position,

so he decided to evacuate Anandpur. The Muhammadans then captured the city and plundered the Guru's property. On obtaining this booty they proceeded in the direction of Sarhind. Some Sikhs not yet satisfied with warfare asked the Guru's permission to pursue them. The Guru replied that as his Sikhs were subservient to him, so was he subservient to God. He repeated on the occasion the third slok of the Asa ki War. By this he meant that it was God's will that he should be defeated, and as all creation feared God, so did he himself at all times.

The Sikhs feeling their defeat, again pressed their request. The Guru at last yielded, and allowed them to pursue their enemies. The latter were unprepared for attack, and fell into great confusion on finding themselves pursued by the very men whom they already thought they had vanquished. The Turks who turned to oppose the Sikhs were killed, and only those who took to flight escaped the vengeance of the Guru's pursuing army. In addition to killing and dispersing the Muhammadans, the Sikhs deprived them of all the booty they had captured at Anandpur. The remnant of the Muhammadan army finally made their way to Sarhind. On this the Guru returned and took possession of Anandpur.

The Emperor called on his fugitive troops to account for their cowardice. They pleaded that they had been waylaid by the Sikhs and taken at an unfair advantage. This excuse seems to have been accepted, for the Emperor then turned the conversation in another direction, and asked what sort of person the Guru was, and what forces he possessed. A Muhammadan soldier gave highly coloured accounts of the Guru's beauty, sanctity, and prowess. He was, he said, a young handsome man, a living saint, the father of his people, and in war equal to one hundred thousand men.

The Emperor was much displeased on hearing this panegyric of the Guru, and ordered that the panegyrist should be excommunicated. The Court qazi advised that the Guru should be brought to the Emperor's presence by some stratagem. Accordingly the Emperor sent him the following message. 'There is only one Emperor. Thy religion and mine are the same. Come to see me by all means, otherwise I shall be angry and go to thee. If thou come, thou shalt be treated as holy men are treated by monarchs. I have obtained this sovereignty from God. Be well advised, and thwart not my wishes.'

To this the Guru replied, 'My brother, the Sovereign who hath made thee emperor hath sent me into the world to do justice. He hath commissioned thee also to do justice, but thou hast forgotten His mandate and practisest hypocrisy. Wherefore how can I be on good terms with thee who pursuest the Hindus with blind hatred? Thou recognizest not that the people belong to God and not to the emperor, and yet thou seekest to destroy their religion.' When dispatching this reply to the emperor the Guru conferred a robe of honour on his envoy.

The Sikhs of the Malwa and Manjha districts now thronged to the Guru in great numbers, and began to study the science of war under his tutelage. Raja Ajmer Chand was distressed on seeing the power and glory of the Sikhs daily increase, and prevailed on the other hill chiefs to join him in another mission to the Emperor to make further complaints against the Guru. The Emperor was at that time in the south of India, and thither the raja proceeded in person to lay the petition of the allied chiefs before him. It described the foundation of Anandpur by Guru Teg Bahadur, whom the Emperor had executed, and the martial and troublesome proclivities of his son the present Guru Gobind Singh. It then proceeded to give the rajas' own version of the Guru's proceedings, and how he had

asked them to embrace his new religion and join them in waging war against the Emperor.

Aurangzeb fearing that the Guru would become too powerful, and also displeased at the state of unrest that prevailed in the Panjab, ordered all available troops under the viceroys of Dihli, Sarhind, and Lahore to be dispatched against the Guru. The hill chiefs who complained should also assist in repressing the common enemy. At the conclusion of the campaign the Guru was to be captured and brought before the Emperor. It would appear from an interview which Raja Ajmer Chand subsequently had with the Dihli viceroy, that the latter, in view of the safety of the capital of the empire, was not at the time in a position to dispatch any troops against the Sikhs.

The Guru was informed by a faithful Sikh of the result of Raja Ajmer Chand's mission to the Emperor. He harangued his troops on the duty of religious warfare against the Muhammadans, and on this subject he had much to say. From the time of the persecution of Guru Arjan up to the present the emperors had been open or covert foes of the Gurus and their Sikhs. The Guru affirmed that death on the battle-field was equal to the fruit of many years' devotion, and ensured honour and glory in the next world.

The time for the Diwali fair was now approaching. Sikhs came in large numbers to make offerings. The Guru issued orders to absent Sikhs to come with their arms and assist him. The Guru's orders were generally obeyed, and warlike preparations began at Anandpur.

The hill chiefs who arrayed themselves against the Guru were Ajmer Chand of Bilaspur, Ghumand Chand of Kangra, Bir Singh of Jaspal, and the Rajas of Kullu, Kionthal, Mandi, Jammu, Nurpur, Chamba, Guler, Srinagar, Bijharwal, Darauli, and Dadhwal. They were joined by the Ranghars and the Gujars,

and all formed a large and formidable host. The imperial army, however, amounted to double their number. Wazir Khan, who had been put in supreme command by the Emperor, mustered his troops at Sarhind for parade and inspection.

Some faithful Sikhs ever kept the Guru informed of the movements of his enemies. He read in darbar the last letter of information he had received, and vowed to destroy his enemies and put an end to the sovereignty of the Mughals. The Sikhs were delighted at the prospect of battle, and congratulated themselves on their good fortune in being allowed to die for their Guru and their faith. Several of them put on saffron-coloured clothes in token of rejoicing, and said, 'We have only four days to live in this world. Why should we not endeavour to obtain the exalted dignity of martyrdom which will ensure salvation ?'

Every variety of warlike weapon was served out to the Guru's followers, and no one was left unarmed. The Guru took the precaution of laying in supplies for the maintenance of the garrison in the event of a siege. He addressed his troops, 'Consider the hill chiefs as well as the Muhammadans your enemies. Fight bravely, and they shall all flee away.' The Guru then repeated the following quatrain of his own composition :—

Blest is his life in this world who repeateth God's name with his mouth and meditateth war in his heart.

The body is fleeting and shall not abide for ever ; man embarking in the ship of fame shall cross the ocean of the world.

Make this body a house of resignation ; light thine understanding as a lamp ;

Take the broom of divine knowledge into thy hand, and sweep away the filth of timidity.

The chronicler judiciously remarks that the Khalsa ought to be congratulated because, though few in

number, they had confidence in themselves to fight for their religion, and delighted by anticipation in the approaching conflict.

Chapter XXI

Wazir Khan's troops advanced from Sarhind like a surging sea. Drums sounded and banners flew at the head of every regiment. In similar formidable array came the troops of Zabardast Khan, the viceroy of Lahore. The two viceroys joined their forces at Ropar. There they were met by the troops of the allied Hindu rajas, and all proceeded against the Guru to Anandpur.

The Guru on seeing the enemy approach in a body ordered his artillerymen to light their fuses and discharge their cannon into the hostile army where thickest. When fire was opened, the enemy made a charge to seize the artillery, but were quickly restrained by the fatal accuracy with which the Guru's men served their guns. Meanwhile the Sikh cavalry advanced and discharged their muskets at close quarters. They were well supported by the infantry who manned the embrasures. The allied army had no protection, and consequently fell in heaps before the city.

The battle continued with terrific violence. The sun was obscured by the smoke from the Guru's garrison guns. Heroes were all stained with blood, and cries of 'Strike, strike!' 'Kill, kill!' everywhere resounded. Riders lost control over their horses, which fled in every direction, and the battlefield presented a truly ghastly spectacle.

The Guru sent for his two brave generals, Ude Singh and Daya Singh, encouraged them, and gave them renewed orders. The two chiefs courageously advanced with their troops and cut down the enemy as reapers a cornfield. Dust flew into the eyes

of their opponents, and rendered them powerless for action. They had no power to withstand the forces now ranged on the Guru's side, and consequently fell in large numbers.

The two viceroys were astonished at the unwonted destruction of their armies. They rallied their men, but again the same evil fate attended them. At last it was resolved to storm the fortress. The Muhammadan troops were told that the Guru was only a faqir, that he had no power to offer long resistance, and must soon capitulate. The carnage began anew. Many brave Muhammadans were dispatched to wed the soul-delighting nymphs of paradise. The contest continued with the greatest obstinacy, and horse and foot for the space of three hours were mingled in indiscriminate slaughter.

The Muhammadans hazarded different opinions as to the cause of the success of their enemies. Some said that the Guru was a miracle-worker, and that supernatural forces fought on his side. Others maintained that the Guru's success was owing to the fact that his men were protected behind their ramparts. While such conversation was being held, the viceroys asked the hill chiefs to show them how they were to obtain victory. If the same ill success attended them to the end, the Sikhs would never allow them to escape.

The hill chiefs suggested that they should then cease fighting, and next day bring cannon to batter down the fort. 'It is true,' the hill chiefs said, 'the Guru's army is a low rabble, but very brave.' On a muster being taken, it was found that nine hundred of the Muhammadan troops lay dead on the field of battle after the first day's engagement.

Next day the Guru mounted his charger, and put himself at the head of his troops. The viceroys observed a warrior mounted on a sable steed with a gold embroidered saddle. He carried a bow painted green, and his crest set with jewels glittered

on his turban. They inquired of Raja Ajmer Chand who it was, and he answered that it was the Guru. Every effort was now made to destroy him, but the first fire of the enemy was aimed too high and took no effect. The Muhammadan gunners were then ordered to fire low, and promised large rewards if they killed the Guru. They were equally unsuccessful when they fired low. The allied armies finding their guns useless resolved to charge the Guru and his Sikhs. The Guru seeing this began to discharge his arrows with marvellous effect. The fearful carnage of the preceding day was again renewed. Horses fell on horses and men on men. The Hindus and the Muhammadans entered on mutual recriminations, each sect blaming the other for its ill-success. Upon this they combined and made a further effort to conquer, but were so vigorously and successfully repulsed, that they were obliged to suspend hostilities for that day also.

The viceroys and the hill chiefs took counsel at night and resolved on the morrow to encompass the city, and cut off all external supplies, so that the Guru and his troops might be starved into submission. While they were thus discussing, they apprehended a night attack from the Sikhs, and accordingly kept vigil.

Next morning a watch before day the Guru and his Sikhs were found at their devotions. When divine service was finished, the Guru ordered his men to remain behind their embrasures and barricades, and not be tempted to advance or come to close quarters with the enemy. Meantime the Muhammadans and Hindus contented themselves with watching the city gates and hindering all ingress or egress. At the same time they remained at a safe distance from the missiles of the Sikhs.

The allied forces made another assault on Anandpur. They espied the Guru at a distance and again ordered their artillerymen to direct their cannon

towards him. The Sikhs were much disconcerted by the enemy's fire, and requested the Guru to take up a less exposed position. The Guru replied that he wore the armour of the immortal God, and consequently no weapon could harm him. God was his protector and had stretched forth His hand to save him from all assaults of his enemies.

While the Guru was thus speaking, cannon balls from the enemy hurtled in the air. They were again aimed high and missed the Sikhs. When the artillerymen were ordered to lower the muzzles of their guns, their fire fell short of the Sikhs, and struck the base of the eminence on which the city stood. The allied armies discharged their cannon hundreds of times, but, whether they fired high or low, their missiles failed to have the desired effect. Thus the day passed until night terminated the conflict.

On the morrow skirmishes were renewed on both sides, and the Sikhs inflicted severe chastisement on the enemy. The Guru called his son Ajit Singh, and told him to hold that part of the city called Kesgarh and not venture forth. He gave him further orders to kill any one who approached, to remain on the alert at night, and to keep his guns loaded. The Guru directed Nahar Singh and Sher Singh to hold the fort called Lohgarh. For this purpose five hundred men were placed at their disposal. Alim Singh with another detachment of five hundred men was ordered to hold the fort of Agampur [1]. Ude Singh also received command of five hundred men to defend another part of the city. Daya Singh was ordered to guard the northern ramparts.

The Muhammadans and the hill chiefs had now completely invested the city, and the Guru's supplies were failing. The enemy noticed that the Sikhs on

[1] This was a fortification within Anandpur, and not the town so called which is at a distance.

guard went twice a day from their embrasures to pray and do homage to their Guru. The Guru in turn kept an eye on the proceedings of the allied armies. One day he saw the generals playing Indian draughts. Raja Ajmer Chand and others were watching the game. The Guru taking up his bow discharged an arrow into their midst, but without striking any one. They examined the arrow and knew by its golden point that it had been discharged by the Guru. They admitted that only a miracle could have sent it such a distance. The Guru knew by his occult power what they were saying, and wrote them the following letter. 'O Viceroy, that was not a miracle. Miracle is a name for the wrath of God. I was merely practising archery. The brave men who have obtained skill in it, conceal not their accomplishments. Everything is in God's hands, whether He desireth to make what is difficult easy, or what is easy difficult.' The Guru attached this letter to an arrow, and then discharged it. It lodged in a branch of a tree under which the allied generals were seated. On perusing the Guru's letter they were astonished that he could have divined what they were saying; and it is said that they admitted his supernatural power and prayed to heaven to preserve them from his too unerring shafts, and his unsurpassed knowledge of warfare.

On one occasion it was observed that the enemy had come very close to the city and far away from their defences. Sher Singh accordingly suggested to Nahar Singh that it would be expedient to make a night attack, and thus take them unawares when they should of necessity become an easy prey. If the Sikhs waited until morning, the enemy would be far away, and it would be impossible to reach them. The night was dark and favoured the enterprise. Nahar Singh did not at first approve of the suggestion, but subsequently altered his mind.

The Sikh troops were awakened at dead of night, and arms served out to them. Having performed their ablutions, they sallied forth two hours before daybreak. Sher Singh commanded them to make but one charge and then return. They did great havoc among the Muhammadans, killing them in numbers, and succeeded in returning to Anandpur by daybreak. The enemy on being aroused could not see whence destruction had overtaken them, and began to turn their arms against one another. Father attacked son, and son attacked father, and with mutual reproaches there resulted internecine slaughter.

The Muhammadan generals were greatly distressed on learning what had occurred. They blamed Ajmer Chand for the disaster, and asked how he could again show his face to the Emperor. He had told the Emperor that the Sikhs were very few, and now whence had so many men sprung forth on a sudden ? The Muhammadan generals threatened to leave Ajmer Chand and his people to the mercy of the Sikhs, but Ajmer Chand and Bhup Chand offered them large presents, and thus prevailed on them to renew the conflict.

Next day the allied forces advanced to take the citadel by storm. The Sikhs on seeing this put their two great guns called Baghan (tigress) and Bijai-ghosh (sound of victory) in position. The guns were then charged, the fuses lighted, and aim taken at the enemy where most thickly massed together. The tents and standards of the Muhammadans were first blown away. Their two generals on seeing this retreated. As the guns committed further destruction, both the Muhammadan and the hill armies took to flight. That evening the Guru offered thanksgiving, beat the drum of victory, and put his cannon into a place of shelter.

The Guru was informed that a man called Kanaiya used with absolute impartiality to draw water both

for his Sikhs and the enemy. The Guru asked him if it was so, and he replied in the affirmative. He quoted the Guru's own instruction that one should look on all men with an equal eye. The Guru mused on his reply, and dismissed him with the compliment that he was a holy man. His followers, called Sewapanthis, form an orthodox and honourable sub-sect of Sikhs who live by honest labour and accept no alms or offerings of any description. The Sewapanthis are also called Adanshahis from Adanshah, a rich banker who devoted his wealth and his leisure to the propagation of their doctrines.

When provisions were running short, the Sikhs made several night sorties and took supplies from the enemy's camp. On such occasions they were often attacked, but they generally contrived to return with scant loss. When any one of their party was cut down, they took his body and carried it into Anandpur. In one of these sorties a Sikh fainted. The Muhammadans seized him, cut off his hair, made him eat their food and repeat their creed, and finally circumcised him. They then, strange to say, allowed him to escape, probably because they thought they had accomplished a sufficiently pious work in forcibly converting him. He informed the Guru of what had happened to him, and prayed to be received again into the Sikh fold. The Guru inquired if he had cohabited with a Muhammadan woman. He replied in the negative. The Guru then ordered him to prepare sacred food and distribute it among the Sikhs, and his reconversion should be complete. The Guru explained that a Sikh who was forcibly converted to Islam was still a Sikh, but that a Sikh who became a Muhammadan from motives of sensuality, should forfeit his happiness here and hereafter.

Several of the inhabitants now deserted Anandpur on account of the difficulty of maintaining them-

selves. Provisions became excessively dear, a pound of flour selling for a rupee. The Guru's troops, however, remained to endure hunger and every form of hardship. They had already decided to sacrifice their lives for him, and they could not leave him in this extremity. Complaints were made to his mother by some of the malcontents, but she only ventured to speak to him when her own private servants rebelled against their fate. She said, 'Thy Sikhs who were foremost in the fight are now dying of hunger, and the enemy are at thy gates. Each of thy soldiers hath now but a quarter of a pound of corn daily. How can men fight on such a pittance? Their patience is exhausted.' The Guru replied, 'Having obtained the order of the immortal God, my object is to increase and not diminish the numbers of my religion. It is by enduring hunger and hardships my Sikhs become strong and brave.'

One day there was an alarm that the hillmen were advancing in force. The Guru having caused his great drum to be sounded, proceeded to the spot whither the assault was directed. Bullets and arrows poured from both sides, and the Sikhs being now reduced in numbers had to retreat. The Turks and hillmen inflicted great damage on them as they did so, and took from them a large quantity of booty. The Sikhs struggled, but their efforts were ineffectual against overpowering numbers. Ude Singh and others went to the Guru, and told him that the Sikhs were defeated and their property plundered. At this critical moment all his troops prayed to the Guru for protection. The Guru said they ought to feel no pleasure in the possession of wealth which was not permanent, and no sorrow at its departure.

Until now the beleagured garrison had been supplied with water from a hill stream. This was discovered by Raja Ajmer Chand, and he cut off the supply.

When the Guru was informed of this, he said the Satluj would for the future supply him with water, and the enemy should gain no advantage from the stream they had diverted. The Guru promised that water should come in time, and the name of the stream should be the Himaiti Nala, or stream of assistance.

Chapter XXII

As the siege was protracted the hardships of the troops and of the other inmates of Anandpur painfully increased. Rations were now reduced to less than a quarter of a pound of corn daily, and sometimes none at all were served out. The Sikhs occasionally made foraging expeditions at night, and fought hard for small booty. When this was exhausted, they ground the bark of trees and converted it into bread. They also lived on leaves and whatever fruit and flowers they could collect. It is related that, notwithstanding their terrible sufferings, they never lost heart or relaxed in the defence of their city.

The enemy heard of the Sikhs' forays, and appointed several scouts to watch their operations. One night, as the Sikhs sallied forth, they were observed and information promptly given to the allied army. No action, however, was taken until the Sikhs on their return approached the city. They were then attacked by both Hindus and Muhammadans in great numbers. The Sikhs threw down their bundles and determined not to die like jackals. 'As long as there is breath in our bodies,' they said, 'let us wield our swords and place ourselves beyond the fear of transmigration.' Although they were faint with hunger, yet each of them killed two or three of the enemy. Finally overpowered by superior numbers, and unable to receive assistance from

within the city, they all perished fighting to the last.

The rajas now formed a plan to induce the Guru again to leave Anandpur. They promised that, in the event of his doing so, their armies would withdraw, and the Guru might afterwards return whenever he pleased. The Guru heeded not this proposal. It was repeated several times, but the Guru still refused to accept it. The Sikhs never heard of these overtures until one day in darbar Raja Ajmer Chand's envoy produced his master's letter. Raja Ajmer Chand stated that it contained no deception, but was honestly intended. It would, he said, be well if the Guru and his troops evacuated the city as early as possible. They might take all their property with them. The Sikhs who heard this proposal went to the Guru's mother to urge it on her, and she promised to use her influence with him. She said, 'My son, this is a propitious offer. Take us with thee and leave Anandpur. I am thy mother, and I ask thee to obey me and seek shelter elsewhere. Thus shalt thou restore life to thy starving Sikhs. My son, fighting were perhaps well if we had wherewithal to maintain ourselves; but now we are involved in poverty and hardships of every description. If thou let the opportunity pass, it will not return again. The hillmen and the Turks are prepared to swear that they will grant us safe conduct, so it is well that we should depart. Moreover, Khwaja Mardud hath now arrived from the Emperor with a message, that he hath vowed to capture thee or die in the effort. All the rajas are on his side. Wherefore, my son, let us withdraw from Anandpur. There is nothing more precious or dearer than life.' The Guru replied, 'Mother dear, the hillmen are idolaters and false. Their intellect is like that of the stones they worship. There is no reliance to be placed on their promises. The Turks are equally evil. Their very falsehood

will destroy them all. The Khalsa shall extend and wreak vengeance on its enemies.' The Guru was unable to convince his mother or his Sikhs of the wisdom of the course he was following. He then hit on a plan by which they should be convinced that the overtures made to him had been treacherously intended.

The Guru sent for Raja Ajmer Chand's Brahman envoy, and told him he would evacuate Anandpur if the allied armies would first allow the removal of his property. He asked for pack-bullocks for the purpose. These with the necessary sacks were readily supplied him. The Hindus swore on the salagram and the Muhammadans on the Quran, that they would not deceive him or molest his servants departing with his property. The Guru then ordered his treasurer to collect all the old shoes, worn-out clothes, bones of dead animals, broken utensils, horse dung, and similar offal that could be found in the Anandpur bazar, and load the sacks therewith. On each sack was to be placed a piece of brocade to make it appear that the contents were valuable. To the bullocks' horns were attached torches, so that the excellence of the cloth with which the sacks were covered, and also the departure of the bullocks might not escape the observation of the enemy. It was arranged that the bullocks with their loads were to start in the dead of night. Naturally, the brilliancy of the procession did not escape the enemy's notice, and they rejoiced like a parched field on receiving rain. Six thousand of them were in ambush to plunder the supposed property of the Guru. The Sikhs on discovering this discharged their cannon and caused great destruction among the serried ranks of the Hindus and Muhammadans. The sacks were, however, all seized by the enemy, and carefully guarded until morning, as it was then too late to examine their contents. It was only on the morrow the enemy discovered the Guru's strata-

gem, and painfully realized the fact that they had committed perjury for the sake of the sweepings of the Anandpur market-place! The Guru availed himself of the incident to demonstrate his own forethought and the treachery of the enemy. He told his troops that everything they had endured had been by the will of God, and he quoted Guru Nanak—'Happiness is a disease, the remedy for which is unhappiness.'

At last came an autograph letter from the Emperor to the Guru—'I have sworn on the Quran not to harm thee. If I do, may I not find a place in God's court hereafter! Cease warfare and come to me. If thou desire not to come hither, then go whithersoever thou pleasest.' The Emperor's envoy added on his own account, 'O Guru, all who go to the Emperor's court praise thee. On that account the Emperor feeleth certain that an interview with thee will add to his happiness. He hath sworn by Muhammad and called God to witness that he will not harm thee. The hill rajas have also sworn by the cow and called their idols to witness, that they will allow thee safe conduct. Bear not in mind anything that hath occurred. The attack on thine oxen was not prompted by any raja. The attackers have been generally punished, and the ringleaders are in prison. No one now, O true Guru, dareth do thee harm, wherefore evacuate the fort, at any rate for the present, and come with me to the Emperor. Thou mayest afterwards do what thou pleasest.' The Guru on hearing this said, 'You are all liars, and therefore all your empire and your glory shall depart. You all took oaths before this and then perjured yourselves. Your troops, whose business it was to fight, have become robbers, and therefore you shall all be damned.'

The Sikhs went again to the Guru's mother to complain of his refusal to listen to reason. Upon this she told him that if he did not leave Anandpur,

he would be deserted by his Sikhs and even by his family, and he would be then left alone to the mercy of the hostile armies. Some Sikhs also made a direct representation to him, and pleaded that through hunger they were unable to endure any longer the fatigue of the siege and the brunt of war. And if they were now in their weak and emaciated condition to make an effort to force their way through the enemy's ranks, they would all be inevitably massacred. They therefore advised capitulation.

The Guru on hearing these representations said to his Sikhs, ' My brethren, they who leave the garrison now will all be killed, and I do not desire to be held responsible. Wherefore give me a statement in writing that you have totally renounced me, and then you may act as you please. But if, on the other hand, you wish to abide by my advice, I will support you, and the immortal God will extend His protecting arm over us all. Adopt whatever alternative you please.' On hearing this the Sikhs and the Guru's mother hesitated. Her son was dear to her, but so was her own life. She resolved, however, that she would not separate from him. The Sikhs too felt that having vowed never to leave the Guru, they could not abandon him or make a formal declaration that he was not their Guru, and they were not his Sikhs.

When the Turks and the rajas heard from the imperial envoy of the failure of his negotiations, they decided to send the Guru's mother an embassy with a request that she and her grandchildren should abandon the fort. This was in the hope that when the Guru found himself alone he would follow them. The envoy first proceeded to the Guru and endeavoured to persuade him to evacuate. The Guru replied that he could not rely on any promise made by the idolatrous rajas or the hypocritical Muhammadans. He then expatiated on the villanies and inherent turpitude of Aurangzeb—a man who

had no regard for an oath, and whose god was money, as was apparent from his persecution of the King of Golkanda, against whom his operations were now directed.

The envoy seeing there was no hope from the Guru then proceeded to the Guru's mother, and employed all his arguments to convince her that it was expedient for the Guru and his Sikhs to leave Anandpur—'O lady, save thyself and all thy family. What will it avail thee to remain here; and if thou depart what harm will it do thee? The Guru's Sikhs are everywhere ready to receive thee, and, whithersoever thou decidest to go, thou mayest abide in happiness. This city will still be thy property, but leave it now and end the quarrel. Hundreds of thousands are waiting to behold thee. Explain matters to thy son and persuade him to obey thee. If not, then prepare to go thyself, and he will follow thee of his own accord. If thou listen not to this advice, great sufferings will result.' The Guru's mother promised to use all her efforts to persuade her son, and said she would place confidence in the oaths of the Turks and the hill rajas.

The Sikhs, sore stricken with hunger, supported the envoy's representation. 'O true Guru, knowing us to be thine own, grant us the gift of life. If thou agree not to this, let us retire to some forest where the Turks cannot reach us. Here shut up in this fort many have died, and many more will die. No food can come to us from outside, and we have now been fighting for a long time. O great king, how can we who are famished with hunger continue to do battle. Accept our advice. Oblige us not to renounce thee, and expel us not from thy faith. If thou adhere to thine own resolve, we must part company, for life is dear to every one, and what will a dying man not do? Nay, we pray thee to assist thy sect and save our lives.'

The Guru replied, 'My brethren, waver not. I only desire your welfare. You know not that these people are deceivers and design to do us evil. If you hold out a little longer as you have done, you shall have food to your heart's content. I ask you to wait only three weeks.' When the Sikhs refused to wait so long, the Guru asked them to wait at least for five days, and the great God would send them succour.[1] The Sikhs refused to wait even a single day, and said it was impossible for them to do so in their dire distress. The Guru repeated his request, and said that the enemy would then retire, and they should all be happy. If his Sikhs were to leave now they would inevitably be killed. 'As a child,' continued the Guru, 'on seeing fire, trieth to grasp it while his parents restrain him, so, O dear Khalsa, you are rushing to your destruction, while I am endeavouring to save you.'

The Sikhs replied, 'O great king, we cannot be in a worse plight outside the city than we are within. We shall all die of hunger here, and if we sally forth we may escape and kill some of the enemy. We cannot remain with thee an instant longer.' These arguments were recommended for adoption by the Guru's mother—'My son, be not obstinate. It is best to leave the fort and save thy people. The Turks and the rajas will give thee solemn oaths of safe conduct, and what more can they do? Now is the time, my son; thou shalt not again have this opportunity. If the enemy come and take the fort by storm, what wilt thou do? Thy Sikhs are dying of hunger, and they will all soon be dead.'

The Guru replied, 'O mother dear, thou knowest not the Turks and the hill rajas. I have already shown thee their deceit, but yet thou art not satisfied. Thou desirest to save thy family, but how will the

[1] The Guru was then expecting reinforcements of the Mālwa Sikhs and hence his request for delay. In fact the reinforcements did come, but arrived too late for the defence of Anandpur.

enemy allow you all to pass? Thou thinkest what is good is evil, and what is evil is good.' The Guru then turning to the Sikhs said, 'My brethren, they who desire to go may now renounce me and depart.' On hearing this the Guru's mother was greatly distressed, and rose and sat apart to give vent to her grief. The Sikhs went and sat around her. The Guru's wives then came forth and joined the sorrowing group. The Guru's mother, wiping away her tears, broke silence—'The Guru deemeth it not proper to leave the fort. O holy Guru Nanak, dispel my sorrow, assist us now, and give my son right understanding that he may protect his people! I have given him much advice, but he heedeth it not. Even if the Sikhs renounce him and depart, he telleth them they shall all be killed. What he saith is never uttered in vain, and of this I have abundant proof. Yet if we remain in Anandpur, the enemy will soon come and put us all to death.'

The Sikhs began to reflect—'We have spent all our lives in the Guru's service. How can we leave him now? It is he who assisteth us both here and hereafter. He asketh us to remain with him for five days more. What will happen in five days? We shall only lose our lives in vain. We will certainly go forth. It is better to fight and die than to starve. We will not formally renounce the Guru. Were we to do so, we should incur great obloquy, and the seed of Sikhism would perish.' After much reflection and hesitation, however, the Sikhs changed their minds and said, 'It is better for us to break with him, and write a document to the effect that he is no more our Guru and we are no more his Sikhs. If we again meet him alive, we shall induce him to pardon us.'

The allied armies too, hearing that the Guru's mother was in favour of evacuating the fort, lost no time in their negotiations. They called a Saiyid (or reputed descendant of Ali the Prophet's son-in-

law), and a Brahman, both of whom were to swear, on behalf of the allied armies, solemn oaths of safe conduct for the Guru should he evacuate Anandpur. The likeness of a cow was made in flour, a salagram and a knife were placed in front of it, and these articles were sent to the Guru with a letter to the effect that whoever meditated evil against him, should be deemed a cow-killer or the worst form of assassin. All the Hindu chiefs put their seals to this letter.

The Saiyid took the Emperor's letter and the Quran on his head and, accompanied by several Muhammadan officers, proceeded to the Guru. The Guru refused to listen to them. They then went to Mata Gujari and repeated their representations. They asked her to leave Anandpur, in which case her son would assuredly follow. She was, however, unable to prevail on him. Gulab Rai and Sham Singh (Sham Das), grandsons of Suraj Mal addressed the Guru and advised him to obey his mother. The Guru still proved obdurate. Upon this his mother prepared to depart with her two youngest grandsons, Jujhar Singh and Fatah Singh. On seeing the Guru's mother take her departure, the Sikhs began to waver in their allegiance to the Guru. Paper, pens, and ink were produced for those who wished to write letters of renunciation, and in the end only forty Sikhs decided to remain with their religious Chief and share his fortunes. The Guru told them that they too might desert him. They refused, and said that, if they did so, the service they had already performed for him would prove unavailing. They would either remain within the fort or force their way out as the Guru directed. The Guru then knew that the seed of his religion would germinate and flourish. He kept the deeds of renunciation, and also took from the envoys the documents they had brought. He then dismissed them and requested to be left alone.

When the Guru found himself alone, he set fire to his tents and other inflammable articles. What was non-inflammable he buried in the earth. He now finally determined to leave Anandpur, and gave orders to his men that they were all to march at night and during the darkness proceed to the east as far as their strength would allow them. When the Guru's mother, wives, and two youngest children had set out, the Guru went to visit his father's shrine and entrusted it to one Gurbakhsh, a holy Udasi, telling him that he should never suffer distress as long as he remained its custodian.

When the Guru was ready to depart, Daya Singh and Ude Singh walked in front of him, the second batch of baptized Sikhs on his left, Muhakam Singh and Sahib Singh on his right. His sons Ajit Singh and Zorawar Singh followed with bows and arrows. Then came Bhai Himmat Singh carrying ammunition and matchlocks. Gulab Rai, Sham Singh, and other friends and relations of the Guru accompanied him. The rest of the Guru's servants and camp followers, about five hundred in all, brought up the rear.

Chapter XXIII

The Guru marched by Kiratpur and thence to Nirmoh. While at Nirmoh he gave Gulab Rai and Sham Singh a letter to the Raja of Sirmaur, which contained a request that he would give them a village to abide in. From Nirmoh the Guru and his party proceeded to Ropar. When the allied troops attacked the rear guard under Ajit Singh, Ude Singh asked and obtained permission to relieve him. The enemy surrounded and killed the dauntless Ude Singh, the hero of many a desperate battle, the bravest of the Guru's brave warriors, believing that he was the Guru himself.

The Guru sat down on the margin of a stream

called Sarsa to await the issue of the conflict. When Ajit Singh delayed coming, the Guru sent Jiwan Singh to fetch him. Jiwan Singh was killed in the endeavour. Before arriving at Ropar, the Guru met his mother and two youngest children, and exhorted them to proceed quickly on their journey. A Sikh who resided in Dihli also met the Guru on the way, and asked if he could perform any service for him. The Guru said that he might take his family to Dihli. The Sikh said he had a relation in Ropar who would keep the Guru's family there for the present. The Guru's mother met a Brahman, a native of Kheri near Sarhind, and discharged cook of the Guru, who offered to entertain her party, and she decided to take her grandsons with her and accept his shelter and protection. Her daughters-in-law remained at Ropar for the night, and next day set out for Dihli under the trusty Sikh's protection.

The allied forces continued to harass the Guru's retreat. He left some of his men at Ropar to arrest their progress, and went himself with thirty-five chosen Sikhs towards Chamkaur. On the way at a place called Baru Majara he received information that a fresh contingent of the imperial army was close at hand to capture him. In no wise dismayed he continued his journey towards Chamkaur. On arriving near that town he took refuge in a garden, and was joined by five of the Sikhs he had left at Ropar. All the others had been slain.

The Guru sent to a Jat agriculturist to ask him for a place of rest. The Jat tried to put him off with excuses, but the Guru placed him under arrest for the moment. He then took the Jat's house, and turned it into a miniature fort where he took shelter with his men. The allied forces could find no trace of him, and were much distressed at his disappearance. But the troops marching from Dihli discovered the Guru's residence and

proceeded thither. The united forces now concentrated their attack on the Guru and were joined by his ancient enemies the Ranghars and Gujars.

The Guru then addressed his men, 'You would not listen to my advice to remain in Anandpur. When you took your departure, you did not calculate that this time of peril would ever arrive. You trusted to the oaths of Muhammadans on the Quran and of the hillmen on their gods and cows, and this is the result. There is no opportunity now of employing the traditional means of dealing with enemies. We can only defend ourselves. There are hundreds of thousands against us. Die not the death of jackals, but fight bravely as you have hitherto done, and avenge the deceit practised by those great sinners. The more you strive, the greater shall be your reward. If you fall fighting you shall meet me as martyrs in heaven. If you conquer you shall obtain sovereignty, and in either case your lot shall be envied by mortals.'

Having thus addressed his Sikhs, the Guru appointed eight men to guard each of the four walls of his extemporized fort. Kotha Singh and Madan Singh held the door, he himself, his two sons, Daya Singh and Sant Singh the top story. Alim Singh and Man Singh were appointed sentinels. Thus was made up the number of forty who accompanied the Guru. Five Sikhs went forth to contend with the enemy. After fighting with great bravery they were killed. Then Khazan Singh, Dan Singh, and Dhyan Singh went forth, and after killing several of the enemy, were killed themselves. The brave Muhakam Singh, following the example of his fellows, went forth and fell pierced by scores of bullets.

While the Guru was lauding Muhakam Singh's valour, and saying that he should be emancipated, Himmat Singh, who was one of the first Sikhs baptized, asked permission to go forth to repel the

enemy. When he was slain the second batch of five Sikhs baptized by the Guru went forth, and sold their lives dearly. Ishar Singh and Deva Singh were the next to contend with the Muhammadans. While these were alive and fought, the enemy thought they were endowed with supernatural power.

Daya Singh and others prayed the Guru to escape by some means, and leave them to contend with the enemy. If the Guru were saved, the seed of religion would remain. Six more of the Guru's warriors, Muhar Singh, Kirat Singh, Anand Singh, Lal Singh, Kesar Singh, and Amolak Singh asked permission to go forth and try their strength with the Turks. The six brave warriors were all killed. Nahar Khan, one of the recently arrived imperial officers, attempted to scale the little fort, but was shot down by the Guru. Ghairat Khan, another officer of the new army, then advanced, and was also slain by the Guru. After this none of the Muhammadan officers had the courage to attempt the fatal ascent. They formed a plan, however, to rush and seize the Guru. In this they utterly failed, for the Guru shot them down in numbers and held at bay the multitudinous Muhammadan host.

The Guru's son Ajit Singh now asked permission to go forth and fight single-handed with the enemy. He said he was the Guru's Sikh and son, and it was incumbent on him to fight even under desperate circumstances. The Guru approved of this proposal. Ajit Singh took with him five heroes, namely, Alim Singh, Jawahir Singh, Dhyan Singh, Sukha Singh, and Bir Singh. Ajit Singh performed prodigies of valour, and Muhammadans fell before him as shrubs before the wind. His companions all fought bravely and desperately. Zabardast Khan, the Lahore viceroy, was greatly distressed on seeing so many of his men slain, and called on his army to at once destroy the handful of Sikhs who were causing such havoc in the imperial ranks. When the

swords of the Sikhs were broken and their arrows spent, they spitted the enemy with their spears. Ajit Singh broke his spear on a Muhammadan. The enemy then made a fresh attack and fatally wounded him, defenceless as he was. He realized, however, that he had acted as befitted his race. He fell and slept the sleep of peace on his gory bed. The Guru on his death said, 'O God, it is Thou who sentest him, and he hath died fighting for his faith. The trust Thou gavest hath been restored to Thee.' The five Sikhs who accompanied him were also slain.

Zorawar Singh, the Guru's second son, on seeing his brother's fate could not restrain himself, and asked his father's permission to go forth and fight as Ajit Singh had done and avenge his death. The youth took five more Sikhs with him and proceeded to commit havoc among the enemy. The chronicler states that Zorawar Singh made his way through the Muhammadan army as a crocodile through a stream. The enemy dropped like rain in the month of Sawan and Bhadon, until Zorawar Singh and his five companions fell overpowered by numbers.

His remaining Sikhs, seeing that all hope was at an end, again advised the Guru to effect his escape. He agreed, seated near him Daya Singh, Dharm Singh, Man Singh, Sangat Singh, and Sant Singh, who alone remained of the army, and proceeded to entrust the Guruship to them. He said, 'I shall ever be among five Sikhs. Wherever there are five Sikhs of mine assembled they shall be priests of all priests. Wherever there is a sinner, five Sikhs can give him baptism and absolution. Great is the glory of five Sikhs, and whatever they do shall not be in vain. They who give food and clothing to five Sikhs, shall obtain from them the fulfilment of their desires.' Saying this the Guru circumambulated them three times, laid his plume and crest in front of them, offered them his arms, and cried out, 'Sri Wahguru ji ka Khalsa! Sri Waghuru ji

ki fatah!' Sant Singh and Sangat Singh offered to remain in the fort while Daya Singh, Dharm Singh, and Man Singh determined to accompany the Guru. The Guru gave his plume to Sant Singh, clothed him in his armour, and seated him in the upper room which he was about to vacate. The Guru and his three companions escaped during the night. He told them, if perchance they separated from him, they were to go in the direction of a certain star which he indicated.

When the Guru was escaping he bade his men stand firm. He said he was going to awaken the enemy, so that they might not say he had absconded. The Turkish sentries were immediately on the alert. He discharged two arrows at them. The arrows at first struck torches which they held in their hands and then passed through their bodies. In the darkness, which followed the extinction of the lamps, the Guru and his companions escaped, but did not travel together. He proceeded barefooted on his journey, and on becoming tired sat down to rest, on the margin of a lake in the Machhiwara forest between Ropar and Ludhiana.

Sant Singh and Sangat Singh, who were left behind in the little fort, inflicted great loss on the enemy. The Muhammadans, however, succeeded in scaling the building and believed they were going at last to capture the Guru whose plume and arrow Sant Singh wore. Khwaja Mardud gave orders that Sant Singh and Sangat Singh should be beheaded and their heads sent to regale the Emperor's eyes. The Muhammadans were much disappointed to subsequently learn that Sant Singh was not the Guru, and that the Guru had escaped. They sent men to the known abodes of all faqirs in the country to search for him, but in vain.

After this the armies dispersed. Zabardast Khan who was wounded in the recent battle retired to his viceroyalty of Lahore. Wazir Khan departed

for Sarhind, and Khwaja Mardud went with the remnant of his army to reinforce the Emperor who was still campaigning in the south of India.

The Guru's three Sikhs followed the star he had pointed out to them, and they all four met at the place now called Bir Guru in the Machhiwara forest. His Sikhs found him sleeping with a waterpot for his pillow. They awakened him and told him that the Muhammadan army would probably be on them by daybreak. The Guru said he could not save himself, as his feet were blistered. He told the Sikhs that they might seek shelter in a neighbouring garden. Man Singh took the Guru on his back and proceeded thither. The Guru found there a Sikh called Gulaba, who treated him and his faithful attendants with kindness and hospitality.

Gulaba gave the Guru shelter in a top story which he had recently built to his house. The Guru wanted meat the next day, and a he-goat was provided for him which he killed by shooting. Gulaba was alarmed lest some of the neighbouring Brahmans and Saiyids might have heard the report of the gun. As a matter of fact one Brahman did hear it, and suspected the presence of the Guru in the village. He looked and saw the Guru on the top story of Gulaba's house. It turned out, however, that the Brahman was friendly. He had previously visited the Guru in Anandpur and enjoyed his hospitality. He now in return put some sweets and a sacrificial thread of the Hindus on a plate, and sent them as an offering to the Guru. The offering of the sacrificial thread was a delicate hint to the Guru that the Brahman would like to lead him back to the ancient religion of India. The Guru returned the sweets and the thread with a present of five gold muhars from himself. Gulaba consulted with his brother as to the disposal of the Guru. They feared for their own safety should it be further known that he was among them.

To Gulaba's house now came two Muhammadans, Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan, who had previously known and visited the Guru. On hearing that the imperial troops were scouring the country in quest of him, they determined to go and offer him their humble services. The Guru requested them to remain with him, and they readily consented.

Gulaba and his family spent an anxious night. In the early morning he waited on the Guru with a present of five gold muhars, which he meant as a parting offering. He represented the danger he had incurred in entertaining his guest, and begged him to take compassion on him and arrange for his departure.

It happened that while the Guru was in Gulaba's house a Sikh woman also came to visit him. She had previously seen him and vowed that she would spin and weave cloth for him, which she would keep until his arrival in her village. The Guru had the cloth dyed blue, and a robe and sheet made from it in imitation of the dress of a Muhammadan pilgrim. He then departed from Gulaba's village. He was borne on a litter which Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan lifted in front, and Man Singh and Dharm Singh in rear, while Daya Singh waved a chauri over him. They informed all inquirers that they were escorting Uch ka Pir. The expression Uch ka Pir meant either high priest as a general religious title, or priest of Uch, a well-known Muhammadan city in the southern part of the Panjab. The Guru and his carriers on arriving at Lal in the Patiala State accidentally came on a detachment of the imperial army which had been searching for him. The general suspected that the pilgrim was no other than the Guru, and determined to make trial of him by what he ate. A sumptuous dinner was prepared for the party. The Guru told his Sikhs that they might eat what the Musalman cooks had prepared, and they did so after touching the food

with their swords. A friendly Saiyid from Nurpur near Machhiwara who was at the time an officer in the detachment, stated that the Guru was really Uch ka Pir. Upon this the general gave an order for the Guru's immediate release.

Chapter XXIV

The Guru no longer travelled with the imperial army, but proceeded to Kanech in the eastern part of what is now the Ludhiana district. There one Fatah came to pay him his respects and ask if he could do him any service. The Guru asked for his best mare to aid him in his escape. Fatah, who had not been sincere in his protestations of friendship, put him off with excuses. It is said that when he left the Guru and went home, he found the mare had died of snake-bite. This was understood to be the result of his hypocrisy and churlishness to the Guru.

The Guru thence proceeded to Hehar, also in the Ludhiana district, where lived Kripal, the Udasi Mahant who had so distinguished himself in the battle of Bhangani. The Guru on meeting him dismissed Ghani Khan and Nabi Khan, after giving them presents and a letter recommending them to the consideration of the faithful. Though Kripal had been previously so devoted to the Guru, he now feared to entertain him lest the Muhammadans should be informed that he was sheltering an outlaw. He accordingly advised the Guru to move on towards the villages of Lamma and Jatpura.

On the way thither the Guru met a Muhammadan called Kalha, a rich and important person who was Chaudhri of Jagraon and Raikot, two considerable towns of the Ludhiana district. Kalha entertained him at Jatpura. The Guru requested him to send a messenger to Sarhind to inquire the fate of his mother and his two youngest sons. The Guru

remained at Jatpura until the messenger's return. Jatpura is about fifty miles distant from Sarhind. This distance the messenger is said to have traversed in an incredibly short space of time.

The following is the messenger's story, one of the most painful in history. It has been already stated that the Guru's mother entrusted herself and the two grandsons, who accompanied her, to a Brahman. He with sweet words took them to his house and induced them to put faith in him. When the Guru's mother went to sleep, he stole her money, which she carried in a saddle-bag and buried it. He then went to her and told her there were several thieves prowling about the neighbourhood, and she must be careful of her valuables. He said he gave her this information so that she might not afterwards blame him. She called her servant and told him what she had heard. He almost immediately afterwards informed her that her saddle-bag was missing. As no one had entered the house but the lady's party and the Brahman, she interrogated the latter on the subject. He pretended to be furious at suspicion having been directed against him, and said that that was the result of doing good and of entertaining homeless wayfarers and outlaws. He had saved the Guru's mother and children from death, and the return they made him for his trouble and hospitality was to charge him with theft as if he were a vulgar malefactor. Then saying that he could not trust her and her children, he ordered them to leave his house.

The Brahman with loud cries proceeded to the Chaudhri, or chief civil official of Kheri, and informed him that the Guru's mother and sons had just come to his house, and both he and the Chaudhri would obtain a large reward for delivering them to the imperial authorities. The Brahman and the Chaudhri then went to the next highest official, a Ranghar, the governor of Murinda. He proceeded

with them to the Brahman's house, and thence they took the Guru's mother and her two grandsons to Wazir Khan, Viceroy of Sarhind. He ordered them to be confined in a tower. People thronged next day to see them, and cursed and abused the treacherous Brahman to their hearts' content. Wazir Khan ordered the children to be brought before him. When the Guru's mother heard the order, it stung her like a sharp arrow.

One Suchanand Khatri, who had vainly sued for one of the Guru's sons as a husband for his daughter, now came forward and said the children were certainly the progeny of the serpent, that is, sons of the Guru, and that when they grew up they would be as destructive as their father. The governor of Murinda told Mata Gujari, in order to pacify her, that he would send the children back after showing them to Wazir Khan. Not believing him, she put one of them at each side of her, and tried to conceal them with her dress. The Guru's son Jujhar Singh on hearing the Ranghar's voice stood up and said to his grandmother, 'The Turks have ever been our enemies. How can we escape from them? Therefore let us go to the viceroy.' Saying this he took his younger brother Fatah Singh and went with the Ranghar. When they reached the viceroy's court, the Ranghar, in order to add to their sufferings, told them that their father, their two eldest brothers, and their companions had all been killed in Chamkaur. He added, 'Your only hope of escape now is to bow before the Viceroy and accept Islam; and perhaps he will spare your lives.'

Jujhar Singh when confronted with the viceroy thus addressed him: 'My father, the holy Guru Gobind Singh is not dead. Who can kill him? He is protected by the immortal God. If any one say that he can tear down heaven, how is that possible? Were a storm to attempt to drive a mountain before it, could it ever do so? Were any one to try to

grasp the sun and moon, it would be a feat impossible to accomplish. Were the Guru to desire it, he could destroy every trace of you, but he deemeth it his first duty to obey the laws of heaven. When we have dedicated our heads to our father who is such a Guru, why should we bow them before a false and deceitful sinner?' On hearing this the people all cried out that the children ought to be allowed to go unharmed. The misnamed Suchanand now interposed, and repeated that these were the offspring of a cobra, and from their heads to their feet filled with venom. 'See my friends,' he said, 'they have not the least fear, and are so proud that they even insult and defy the Viceroy'.

Wazir Khan then reflected that if the children became Muhammadans, it would be a gain and glory to his faith. He told them that, if they would accept his faith, he would grant them an estate, marry them to the daughters of chiefs, and they would become happy and be honoured by the Emperor. Jujhar Singh then looking at his younger brother said, 'My brother, the time to sacrifice our lives, as our grandfather Guru Teg Bahadur did, hath now arrived. What thinkest thou?' Fatah Singh replied, 'Brother dear, our grandfather parted with his head but not with his religion, and he ordered us to follow his example. Now that we have received the baptism of the spirit and the sword, what care we for death? Wherefore it is best that we should give our lives, thus save the Sikh religion, and bring down God's vengeance on the Turks.'

Jujhar Singh again spoke on the same subject: 'My brother, our grandfather Guru Teg Bahadur spurned the Muhammadan religion. Here is this noble family of ours—a man like Guru Gobind Singh our father, a man like Guru Teg Bahadur our grandfather, a man like Guru Har Gobind our great-grandfather. We, who are their descendants, cannot attach a stigma to their memories.' The young

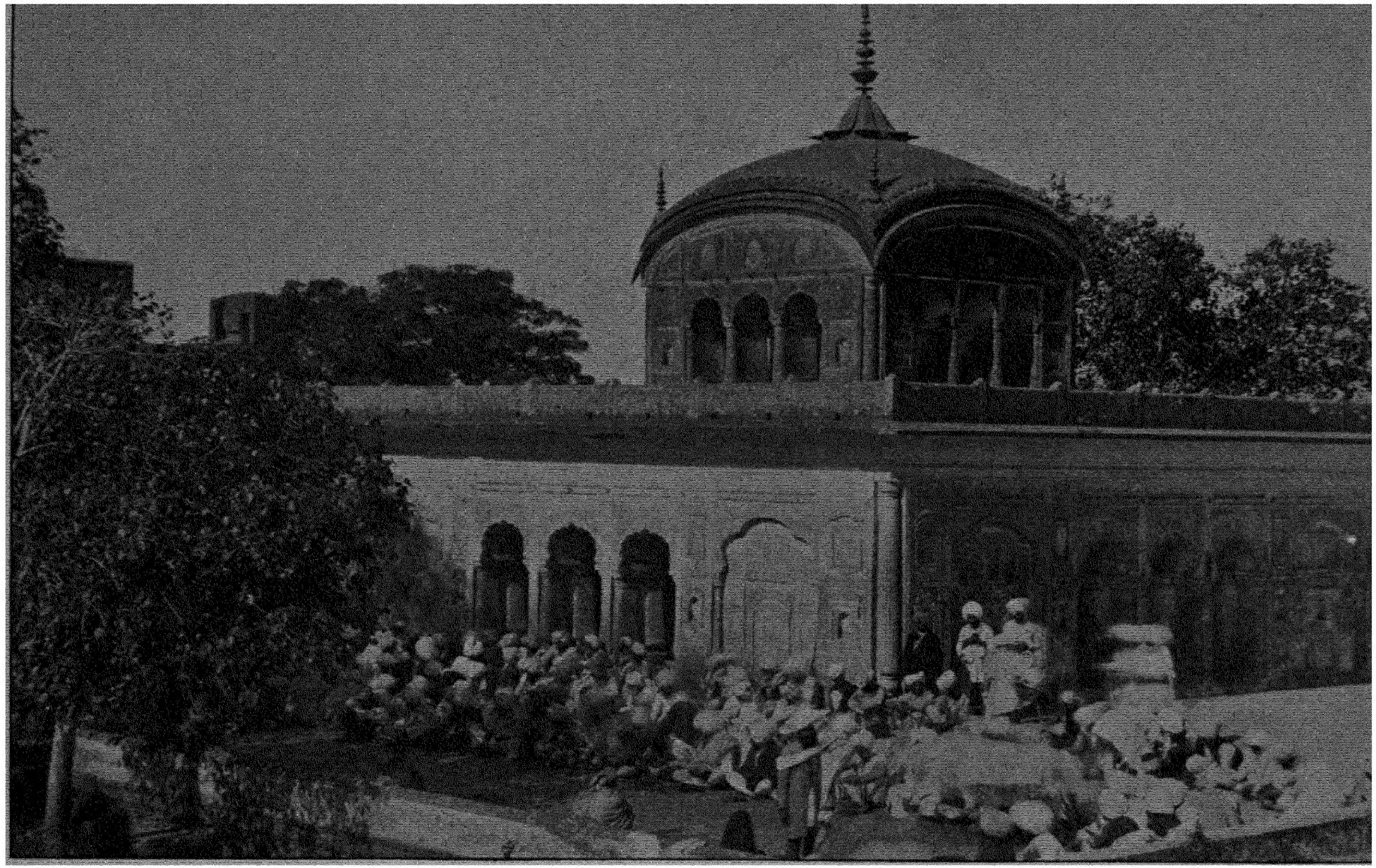
boy waxing still more angry, continued, 'Hear, O viceroy, I spurn thy religion and will not part with mine own. It hath become the custom of our family to forfeit life rather than faith. O fool, why seekest thou to tempt us with worldly ambition? We will never be led astray by the false advantages thou offerest. The indignities inflicted by the Turks on our grandfather shall be the fire to consume them, and our deaths the wind to fan the flame. In this way we shall destroy the Turks without forfeiting our holy faith.'

The Muhammadan viceroy could not endure outspokenness of this description, and, in the words of the chronicler, began to burn like sand in a fiery furnace. He said he must put the children to death. They had no fear of any one, and their words were liable to cause disaffection and religious apathy in others. Suchanand was ready to support the viceroy, and suggested additional reasons for putting the children to death. He said they had spoken insolently before the Viceroy, and when they grew up they would follow their father's example and destroy armies. What good could be expected from them? They would be always exciting revolts. They were prisoners with no right of pardon; and, if they were released, no one knew what they would do. There were no means for their repression but death.

Then out spoke the Nawab of Maler Kotla, 'O Viceroy, these children are still drinking milk in the nursery, and are too young to commit an offence. They know not good from evil. Wherefore be pleased to allow them to depart.' This representation the Viceroy heeded not, but cast about for some one to kill the children. His servants who were present said they were willing to sacrifice their lives for him, but they were not executioners. He turned to right and left, but all his staff hung down their heads in token of refusal and pity for the children. At last looking behind him he espied a Ghilzai who,

with the cruelty of his race, offered to do the sanguinary deed. It is a general belief among the Sikhs that the children were bricked into a wall and suffered to die in that position, but the authors of the *Suraj Parkash* and of the *Gur Bilas* both state that the children were put to death in the order of their ages by the sword of the Ghilzai executioner. They vied with each other as to who should first have the honour of martyrdom. The two children Jujhar Singh and Fatah Singh, aged nine and seven years respectively, perished on the 13th of Poh, Sambat 1762 (A. D. 1705).

A rich Sikh called Todar Mal, as soon as he heard of the imprisonment of the Guru's children, hastened to the viceroy with the intention of ransoming them, but arrived too late. The children had been already put to death. He then proceeded to the Guru's mother Mata Gujari, who had not yet heard of the execution of her grandchildren, but was at the same time suffering extreme mental agony. She every now and again would pray to the Gurus to protect her little ones: 'O Guru Nanak, may no hair of my grandchildren's heads be touched! O my son, Guru Gobind Singh, pardon my sins and protect me now! Woe is me! I know not what may happen to my grandchildren to-day.' Todar Mal sought to break the sad intelligence to her, but his voice was stifled in his throat. On seeing this, Mata Gujari became extremely alarmed, and standing up at once said, 'Tell me the truth. Why art thou sorrowful? When will they allow my grandsons to return, and what questions have they put them?' Todar Mal then strengthening his resolve, addressed her: 'I have made my heart harder than a stone, and come to tell thee of the death of thy grandchildren. O mother, the light of thine eyes, the support of the world, the life of the Sikhs, the darlings of the Guru have been to-day massacred by the Turks.' On receiving this news Mata Gujari



FATAHGARH

was struck down as if a mountain had fallen on her. Todar Mal began to fan her in her swoon with the skirt of his dress.

On recovering consciousness to some extent she began to call upon her grandsons, 'O Jujhar Singh, O Fatah Singh, after such love for me whither have you gone? Take me with you. Who will call now me mother or grandmother? Who will come and sit on my lap? How shall I now behold you? O youthful warriors, light of my courtyard, sun of my family, I know not what your sufferings must have been to-day. O my grandchildren, on whom I have never turned my back even when asleep. To-day, alas! alas! the Muhammadan tyrants have killed you, the darlings of mine eyes, my beautiful ones. I concealed my grandsons from the gaze of others, and behold what hath happened to-day! What have I done to you, O children, that you should have abandoned me to misery?' Saying this, she fell heavily to the ground, and gave up her spirit. Todar Mal cremated the bodies of the Guru's mother and her grandchildren, and buried their ashes.[1] A Sikh temple, now called Fatahgarh, was subsequently erected on the spot.

When the Turks heard that the Brahman who had betrayed the Guru's mother and children possessed much wealth, they arrested him and all his family, and forced him by torture to tell where he had concealed his treasure. He pointed out the spot where he had buried Mata Gujari's money, but it was not found there. The Turks believing that he was only deceiving them continued to torture him until his soul took flight to the infernal regions.

While the Guru was listening to the narrative, he was digging up a shrub with his knife. He said, 'As I dig up this shrub by the roots, so shall the Turks be extirpated.' He inquired if any one

[1] In the *Sūraj Parkāsh* it is stated that it was Tilok Singh and Rām Singh who cremated the bodies of the Guru's mother and sons.

except the Nawab of Maler Kotla had spoken on behalf of the children. The messenger replied in the negative. The Guru then said that after the roots of the oppressive Turks were all dug up, the roots of the Nawab should still remain. His Sikhs should one day come and lay Sarhind waste.

Before the Guru had set out from Jatpura he presented his host Kalha with a sword to preserve in memory of him. He was to honour it with incense and flowers. As long as he did so, he and his family should flourish, but, if ever he wore it, he should lose his possessions. Kalha during his lifetime treated the sword according to the Guru's injunctions, and so did his son after him. But his grandson put on the weapon, and employed it in the chase. In endeavouring to kill a deer with it he struck his own thigh and died of the wound. The author of the *Suraj Parkash* wrote that this incident actually occurred when he was a boy, and he still remembered it.

CHAPTER XXV

The Guru continued his retreat from the Turks, and proceeded on his litter from Jatpura to Dina. On the way he met a Sikh who presented him with a horse and saddle. On arriving at Dina, the Guru met Shamira, Lakhmira, and Takht Mal, grandsons of Jodh Rai, who had rendered material assistance to Guru Har Gobind in the battle of Gurusar. Jodh Rai's family at first lived at Kangar. His grandsons had now left that village and gone to Dina. The Guru represented to the young men that they incurred danger in entertaining him, but they felt no apprehension, and gave him hospitable treatment. While there the Guru gathered some fighting men to his standard.

During the Guru's stay at Dina he was visited by Parm Singh and Dharm Singh, descendants of

Bhai Rupa, of whom mention has been made in the life of the sixth Guru. Parm Singh and Dharm Singh made the Guru an offering of a horse and a dress. The Guru took special notice of Shamira, and gave him the horse and the dress which Parm Singh and Dharm Singh had presented him. The Guru told Shamira that he should own land as far as he could course his steed. Shamira mentioned this in his household. His maternal uncle laughed at the Guru's promise, and said that if the Guru had been able to work miracles, he would not now be a fugitive. Shamira was partially convinced by this argument, and merely coursed his steed round his own village. As the result of his want of faith, he only remained in possession of the land within the circle he thus described.

The Viceroy of Sarhind heard that the Guru was being entertained by Shamira and his brothers in Dina. He wrote to Shamira on the subject, and ordered him under pain of his highest displeasure to arrest and surrender the Guru. Shamira replied that he was only entertaining his priest, as the Viceroy himself or any one else might do. The Guru was merely visiting his Sikhs and molesting no one. While sending this reply, Shamira feared that the Viceroy would send troops and arrest the Guru, so he sent a spy to obtain information of the Viceroy's movements and proceedings. The Viceroy kept troops ready, but did not send them immediately. Meanwhile the Guru enlisted several men and prepared for his defence. The Guru's stay at Dina appears to have been somewhat protracted, for it was there he wrote his celebrated 'Zafarnama', or Persian epistle to Aurangzeb. It begins, as usual in such compositions, with an

Invocation to God

'O Thou perfect in miracles, eternal, beneficent, Bestower of grace, maintenance, salvation, and mercy; Dispenser

of bliss, Pardoner, Saviour, Remitter of sins, dear to the heart, King of kings, Bestower of excellence, Indicator of the way, without colour and without equal, Lord, who giveth heavenly bliss to him who hath no property, no retinue, no army, and no comforts. Distinct from the world, powerful, whose light is everywhere diffused, Thou bestowest gifts as if Thou wert present in person. Pure Cherisher, Bestower of favours, Thou art merciful, and Provider of sustenance in every land. Thou art Lord of every clime, the greatest of the great. Perfect in beauty, merciful, Master of knowledge, Support of the unhappy, Protector of the Faith, Fountain of eloquence, Searcher of hearts, Author of revelation, Appreciator of wisdom, Lord of intelligence, Diviner of secrets, Omnipresent God, Thou knowest the affairs of the world. Thou resolvest its difficulties, Thou art its great Organizer.

Address to Aurangzeb

'I have no faith in thine oath to which thou tookest the one God as witness. I have not a particle of confidence in thee. Thy treasurer and thy ministers are all false. He who putteth faith in thine oath on the Quran is thereby a ruined man. The insolent crow cannot touch him who hath fallen under the shadow of the huma. He who taketh the protection of a powerful tiger cannot be approached by a goat, a buffalo, or a deer. Had I even secretly sworn on the volume of my choice faith to accept thy religion, I should not have had to withdraw my infantry and cavalry from Anandpur.[1]

'As to my defeat at Chamkaur, what could forty men do when a hundred thousand came on them unawares? The oath-breakers attacked them abruptly with swords, arrows, and muskets. I was constrained to engage in the combat, and I fought to the utmost of my ability. When an affair passeth beyond the region of diplomacy, it is lawful to have recourse to the sword. Had I been able to repose

[1] The preceding part of this address refers to Anandpur; what follows to Chamkaur.

confidence in thine oath on the Quran, I would not have abandoned my city. Had I not known that thou wert crafty and deceitful as a fox, I would never on any account have come hither. He who cometh to me and sweareth on the Quran ought not to kill or imprison me. Thine army came clothed like blue-bottles, and all of a sudden charged with a loud shout. Every soldier of thine who advanced beyond his defences to attack my position, fell deluged in blood. Thy troops who had committed no aggression received no injury at our hands. When I saw that Nahar Khan entered the fight, I quickly gave him the taste of my arrow. Many soldiers who came with him and boasted of their prowess ignominiously deserted the field of battle. Another Afghan officer advanced like a rushing flood, an arrow, or a musket ball. He made many assaults, received many wounds and at last, while in the act of killing two of my Sikhs, was killed himself. Khwaja Mardud remained behind a wall and came not forth like a man. Had I but seen his face, I would certainly have bestowed an arrow on him too. At last many were killed on both sides by showers of arrows and bullets, and the earth became red as a rose. Heads and legs lay in heaps as if the field were covered with balls and hockey-sticks. The whizzing of arrows, the twanging of bows, and a universal hubbub reached the sky. Men, the bravest of the brave, fought like madmen. But how could forty even of the bravest succeed when opposed by a countless host ? When the lamp of day was veiled, the queen of night came forth in all her splendour, and God who protected me showed me the way to escape from mine enemies. There was not a hair of my head touched, nor did I in any way suffer.

'Did I not know that thou, O faithless man, wert a worshipper of wealth and perjurer ? Thou keepest no faith and observest no religion. Thou knowest not God, and believest not in Muhammad. He who hath regard for his religion never swerveth from his promise. Thou hast no idea of what an oath on the Quran is, and canst have no belief in Divine Providence. Wert thou to take a hundred oaths on the Quran, I would not even then trust thee in the slightest.

Hadst thou any intention of keeping thine oath, thou wouldst have girded up thy loins and come to me. When thou didst swear by Muhammad and called the word of God to witness, it was incumbent on thee to observe that oath. Were the Prophet himself present here, I would make it my special object to inform him of thy treachery. Do what is incumbent on thee, and adhere to thy written promise. Thou shouldst have cheerfully fulfilled it, and also the verbal promises of thine envoy. Everybody ought to be a man of his word, and not utter one thing while he meditateth another. Thou didst promise to abide by the words of thy qazi. If thou hast spoken truly, then come to me. If thou desire to seal thy promise on the Quran, I will gladly send it to thee for the purpose. If thou come to the village of Kangar, we shall have an interview. Thou shalt not run the slightest danger on the way, for the whole tribe of Bairars[1] are under me. Come to me that we may speak to each other, and that I may utter kind words to thee.

'I am a slave and servant of the King of kings, and ready to obey His order with my life. Should His order reach me, I will go to thee with all my heart. If thou have any belief in God, delay not in this matter. It is thy duty to know God. He never ordered thee to annoy others. Thou art seated on an emperor's throne, yet how strange are thy justice, thine attributes and thy regard for religion! Alas a hundred times! alas for thy sovereignty! Strange, strange is thy decree! Promises not meant to be fulfilled injure those who make them. Smite not any one mercilessly with the sword, or a sword from on high shall smite thyself. O man, be not reckless, fear God, He cannot be flattered or praised. The King of kings is without fear. He is the true Emperor of earth and heaven. God is the master of both worlds. He is the Creator of all animals from the feeble ant to the powerful elephant. He is the Protector of the miserable and Destroyer of the reckless. His name is the Support of the unhappy. It is He who showeth man the way he ought to go. Thou art bound

[1] From whom the Phūlkiān chiefs and people are descended.

by thine oath on the Quran. Bring the matter to a good issue according to thy promises. It is incumbent on thee to act wisely, and be discreet in all thine actions. What though my four sons were killed, I remain behind like a coiled[1] snake. What bravery is it to quench a few sparks of life? Thou art merely exciting a raging fire the more. How well spoke the sweet-tongued Firdausi,[2] "Haste is the devil's work!" I would have gone many times to thee had thy promise been kept when the bullocks were plundered. As thou didst forget thy word on that day, so will God forget thee. God will grant thee the fruit of the evil deed thou didst design. It is good to act according to thy religion, and to know that God is dearer than life. I do not deem thou knowest God, since thou hast done acts of oppression. Wherefore the great God knoweth thee not, and will not receive thee with all thy wealth. Hadst thou sworn a hundred times on the Quran, I would not have trusted thee in the slightest even for a moment. I will not enter thy presence, nor travel on the same road with thee, but, if God so will it, I will proceed towards thee.

'Fortunate art thou Aurangzeb, king of kings, expert swordsman and rider. Handsome is thy person, and intelligent art thou. Emperor and ruler of the country, thou art clever to administer thy kingdom, and skilled to wield the sword. Thou art generous to thy co-religionists, and prompt to crush thine enemies. Thou art the great dispenser of kingdoms and wealth. Thy generosity is profuse, and in battle thou art firm as a mountain. Exalted is thy position; thy loftiness is as that of the Pleiades. Thou art king of kings, and ornament of the thrones of the world. Thou art monarch of the world, but far from thee is religion.

'I wanted to kill the hillmen who were full of strife. They worshipped idols, and I was an idol-breaker. Behold the power of the good and pure God who by means of one man killed hundreds of thousands. What can an enemy do when

[1] *Pechīda*, twisted, convoluted. The more coils a snake has the more poison it contains. The Guru here distinctly threatens the Emperor.

[2] A famous Persian poet, author of the *Shāh-i-Nāma*.

God the Friend is kind? His function it is, as the great Bestower, to bestow. He giveth deliverance and pointeth out the way to His creatures. He teacheth the tongue to utter His praises. In the hour of action he blindeth the enemy. He rescueth the helpless and protecteth them from injury. The Merciful showeth mercy to him who acteth honestly. God bestoweth peace on him who heartily performeth His service. How can an enemy lead astray him with whom the Guide of the way is well pleased? Should tens of thousands proceed against such a person, the Creator will be his guardian. When thou lookest to thine army and wealth, I look to God's praises. Thou art proud of thine empire, while I am proud of the kingdom of the immortal God. Be not heedless; this caravansary is only for a few days. People leave it at all times. Behold the revolution which passeth over every denizen and house in this faithless world. Even though thou art strong, annoy not the weak. Lay not the axe to thy kingdom. When God is a friend, what can an enemy do even though he multiply himself a hundred times? If an enemy practise enmity a thousand times, he cannot, as long as God is a friend, injure even a hair of one's head.'

The Guru sent the above to the Emperor by Daya Singh and Dharm Singh, who had survived the battle of Chamkaur and escaped to Dina with the Guru. They disguised themselves as Muhammadan pilgrims, and proceeded on their journey to the south of India. On reaching Dihli they took shelter in the Sikh temple and received the visits of several admiring Sikhs. Next morning they set out for Agra. Thence they crossed the river Chambal and proceeded to Ujjain, whence they crossed the Narbada and travelled by Burhanpur to Aurangabad. Thence they proceeded to Ahmadnagar, where the Emperor was encamped. There Daya Singh and Dharm Singh met a Sikh called Jetha Singh, who told them it would be very difficult for them to obtain an audience of the Emperor. They

said it did not matter, and asked him to summon all the Sikhs who were there to meet them and hear their story. Daya Singh and Dharm Singh told the Sikhs of their mission, and read a letter specially addressed to them by the Guru.

Chapter XXVI

Meanwhile the Guru was preparing for his defence at Dina, but in order that the innocent villagers might not suffer from warlike operations directed against him, he pitched his tent in the neighbouring forest. It would appear that he approached, if he did not actually enter, the present village of Jalal, for it is recorded that the inhabitants of that village gave him supplies and a lance for defence. They complained that the inhabitants of a neighbouring village bore them enmity. There were always affrays between the two villages, and the inhabitants of Jalal were always worsted. The Guru told them to obey and believe in him, and they should always be victorious. They trusted him and obtained several victories. Subsequently, however, the inhabitants of Jalal forgot their promises to the Guru, and stole horses belonging to the Sikhs. The offenders were punished and expelled from their village by those whom they had wronged. They subsequently begged the Sikhs' pardon, and were allowed to dwell at Gurusar[1], where the Guru had encamped.

The Guru thence proceeded to the village of Bhagta in the present state of Faridkot. The village had been called after Bhai Bhagtu, a grandson of Bhai Bahilo, who was a distinguished Sikh in the time of Guru Arjan. Bhagtu had five sons, Gurdas, Tara, Bhara, Mihra, and Bakhta. They presented a fully caparisoned steed to the Guru. Gurdas and

[1] This is not the Gurūsar the scene of Guru Har Gobind's engagement with the imperial army.

Tara are the men we have already described as masands of Ram Rai. By this time they had returned to their native village. The Guru remained in Bhagta for three days, and on the fourth travelled to Wandar in the present district of Firozpur. Thence he proceeded into a dense forest where he met a nephew of Kapura, the Chaudhri of several villages round Kot Kapura in the present state of Faridkot. The nephew complained that his uncle had expelled him. He was, he said, marching to do battle with him, but, on hearing of the Guru's arrival, he first went to pay him his respects, that being a more holy object than making war on his uncle. The Guru said that Kapura's troops would arrive on the morrow, but his nephew must not at present engage in a combat with them. His troops would subsequently conquer those of Kapura. The nephew following the Guru's advice decided to remain at home on the morrow. His wife, however, on seeing him thus ingloriously inactive, asked for his sword and turban, offered him her petticoat, and said she would go and fight herself. This taunt roused her husband to action. In disregard of the Guru's advice he went to battle and was killed by his uncle's forces.

The Guru thence proceeded to Bahiwal and Sarawan and billeted his Sikhs on the villages. One Sikh, named Maliagar Singh, was fed by a poor villager on pilun, the tiny fruit of the jal-tree. He told the Guru that he had had an excellent dinner. The Guru on subsequently discovering that he had dined on pilun and thus received only indifferent food, complimented him on his contentment, and said that Sikhs ought ever to act as he had done, and never dispraise food offered them. The Guru continued, ' If any one come to a Sikh, and receive not food from him, know that that Sikh hath sinned. If any one beg food from a Sikh, he too hath sinned because of his greed.'

The Guru then visited Kot Kapura, and put up outside the city under a pipal-tree, which is still pointed out to the traveller. It is in a little promontory in the centre of a lake formed by the excavation of earth to build the town. Kapura came to see him, and brought him a fully caparisoned horse and other presents. Next day Kapura again visited him and found him seated on one couch, while his weapons were laid before him on another. He reverenced arms because, he said, they who wore them and practised their use became brave and conquered their enemies.

The Guru begged Kapura's permission to take shelter in his fort. Kapura replied that he had no power to withstand the imperial army, and no desire to wander a fugitive like the Guru. The Guru then said the Muhammadans would take his fort, put his head into a bag of ashes, and then hang him. Kapura left in anger, and going home closed the gates of the fort, so that the Guru might not enter by surprise.

The Guru heard that Wazir Khan's army was now in hot pursuit. He accordingly set out from Kapura, and sought shelter in Dhilwan, a village about four miles to the south-east of it. There Prithi Chand's descendants had been settled for some time. One of them called Kaul, now a very old man, visited the Guru and made him a present of a suit of clothes. Upon this the Guru threw off and burned the greater part of the blue dress which he had been using for disguise. In the Asa ki War occurs the line :—

Nil bastar le kapre pahire Turk Pathani amal kiya.
The Turks and Pathans put on blue clothes and reigned.

For this the Guru read :—

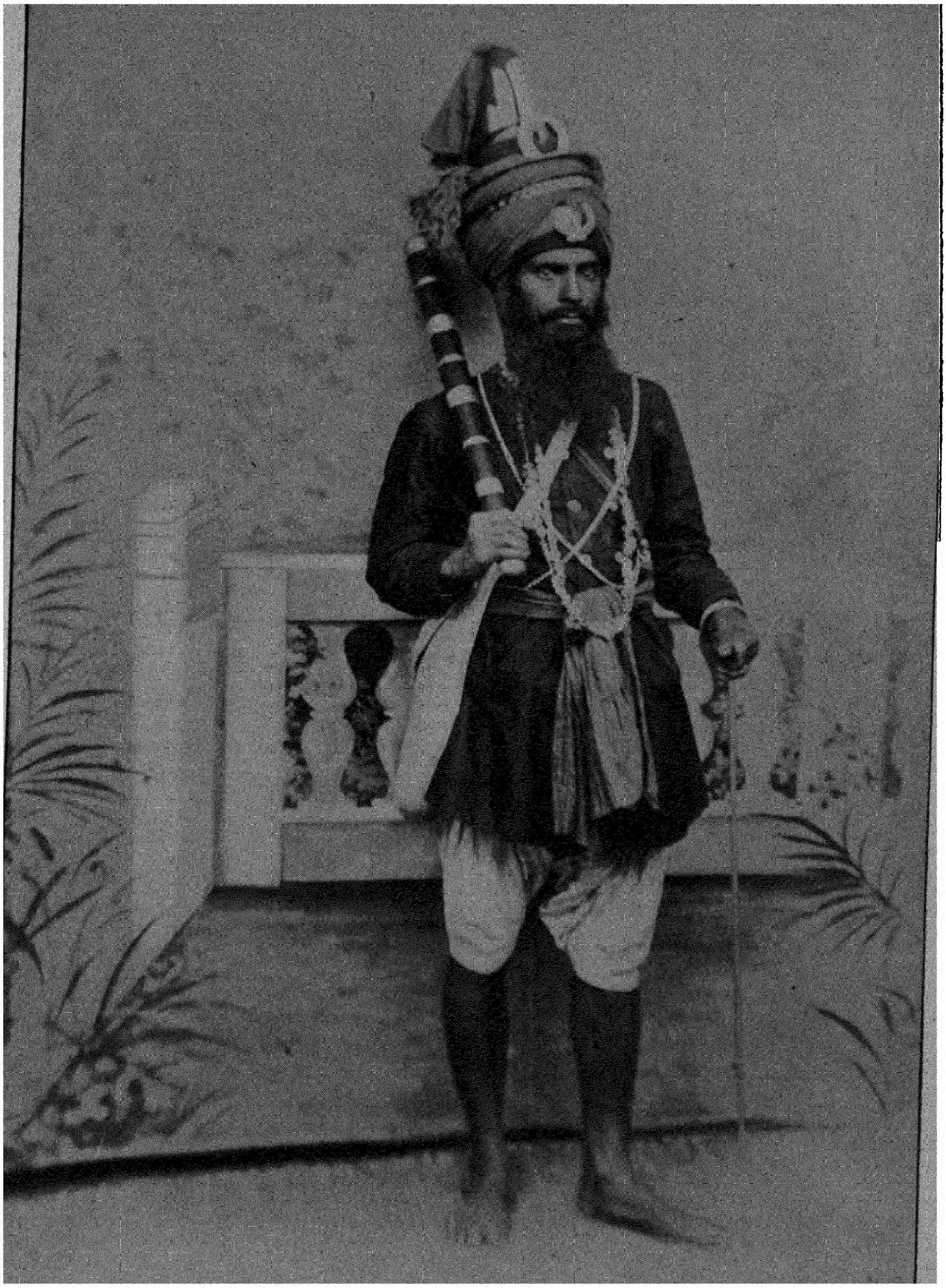
Nil bastar le kapre phare ; Turk Pathani amal gaya.
I have torn the blue clothes which I wore ; the rule of the Turks and Pathans is at an end.

The Guru meant the alteration as a curse on the Turks and Pathans. It was deemed an impious act to alter any part of the Granth Sahib. This the Guru did not deny, but said he hoped that the murder of his father and of his own children and the grievous sufferings of his Sikhs were a sufficient atonement. A piece of his blue clothes which the Guru did not consign to the fire he preserved in memory of his troubles. It is said to have subsequently suggested the blue dress of the Akalis or Nihangs.

The Guru soon left Dhilwan and pitched his tent in a forest between Maluka and Kotha. Thence he proceeded to Jaito in the present state of Nabha. There Kapura arrived on a hunting excursion. He complained of perturbation of mind on account of the curse the Guru had uttered. The Guru, however, refused to retract his words. On the contrary he said that Kapura should ever remain a puppy of the Muhammadans, and have great suffering in consequence.

While the Guru was in this locality, a messenger arrived with the news that Wazir Khan's army was marching hither, and would arrive in a few days. The Guru asked Kapura for a guide. Kapura sent an officer called Khana and some troopers with instructions to show him the way as far as Khidrana, but not engage in any combat, and if possible hinder the Guru from doing so. Next morning the Guru escaped to Ramiana in the Faridkot state. On the way he found a man gathering the fruit of the wild caper. The Guru tasted, but not relishing it, told the man to throw it away. The man would not do so altogether. The Guru said it had been his intention to banish drought from that part of the country, but now he could not do so owing to the man's obstinacy and disregard of his orders. From Ramiana the Guru proceeded towards Khidrana.

All the contests and sufferings of the Guru became



AN AKALI

known in the Manjha, and the Sikhs who dwelt there censured themselves for having listened to Duni Chand and abandoned the Guru at Anandpur. They now began to consider how they could make reparation and assist their spiritual master in his dire extremity. They were, however, of the opinion of the Sikhs of Lahore that the Guru should adopt the way of Baba Nanak and cease all hostilities. They sent a large deputation to press their advice on him, and promised that, if he accepted it, they would use influence with the Emperor to pardon him; otherwise they would not consider themselves his Sikhs or him their Guru.

The Guru on the way to Khidrana arrived at a village owned by a Khatri called Rupa, who warned him off through fear of the Emperor's displeasure. The Guru had a Bairar named Dan Singh as his clerk and chamberlain. Dan Singh's son saw the enemy approaching, and duly informed the Guru. The Guru took no notice, but continued to walk his horse. The warning was repeated, but the Guru heeded it not. The youth then struck the Guru's horse with the object of quickening his pace. At this the Guru became angry and uttered words of censure. Dan Singh interceded for his son. The Guru replied that he treated Dan Singh's son as his own, and a father's censure would not affect his children. The Guru instanced the case of a tigress removing her cubs from a burning forest. When she takes them in her mouth, every one thinks she is going to devour them, but this is not so. Her act is prompted by love.

The deputation of the Manjha Sikhs found the Guru after much search. On hearing their representation he said, 'If you were my Sikhs, you would receive and not give me instruction. I do not require you. You deserted me formerly. Who hath sent for you now? You have come to adjust my quarrels, but where were you when I needed your

assistance? You used no influence with the Emperor when Guru Arjan was tortured to death, or when Guru Teg Bahadur was beheaded. On this account, my brethren, I cannot listen to your advice. When I am again in difficulty, you will betray me as before. Put on record that you renounce me and go to your homes.' Upon this the deputation drew up a formal document to the effect that they renounced the Guru unless he ceased to contend with the Turks.

A Sikh who had been put on a tree to keep watch said, 'I see the enemy approaching, and they will soon see us.' The Guru took up his bow and arrows and mounted his horse. He was advised by Kapura's guide to go to Khidrana, where there was water of which he could hold possession, and where the Muhammadans, if they ventured thither, would die of thirst. The Guru said, 'There is dust in the eyes of the Muhammadans and earth in their mouths. They may stare as much as they please, but when I remember the holy Baba Nanak they cannot see me.'

Five of the Manjha Sikhs repented of their renunciation of the Guru, and decided to return and render him all assistance. They induced thirty-five more of their number to return with them. The Guru thus obtained an unexpected reinforcement of forty good and earnest fighting men. They were joined by a heroine named Bhago, who through zeal for the Sikh cause had donned man's attire and vowed to suffer death if necessary on the bloodstained field of danger on behalf of the Guru. The Guru and his personal guard preceded them to Khidrana in the present Firozpur district of the Panjab, but on finding no water there, the tank having run dry, moved on into the neighbouring forest, where they deemed they should be in greater safety, and whence they could more easily escape if overpowered. The forty men of the Manjha on arriving at Khidrana

decided to cover the trees in the neighbourhood with clothes, so that the enemy might think they were encamped in great numbers, and not make a sudden attack on them. Kapura appeared in the enemies' ranks. He overtly came to show them the way by which he had instructed his officer to take the Guru and his forty Sikhs to their destruction.

Wazir Khan ordered his army to charge the Sikhs who stood to oppose him, and in whose ranks he believed the Guru to be concealed. They received the charge with the utmost bravery. The Muhammadans were giving way when Wazir Khan rallied them by asking if they were not ashamed to fly before such a handful of men. Five Sikhs who advanced to the front were riddled with bullets. Ten more advanced on the imperial army, and cleared the field wherever they went. When they were cut down, the enemy took courage and advanced nearer the remaining Sikhs. Eleven Sikhs then rushed on the enemy and smote them down. They were, however, unable to cope with superior numbers and fell under the swords of the Muhammadans. The woman Bhago fought heroically in their ranks, disposed of several of her Muhammadan opponents, and transmitted her name as an Indian heroine for the admiration of future generations.

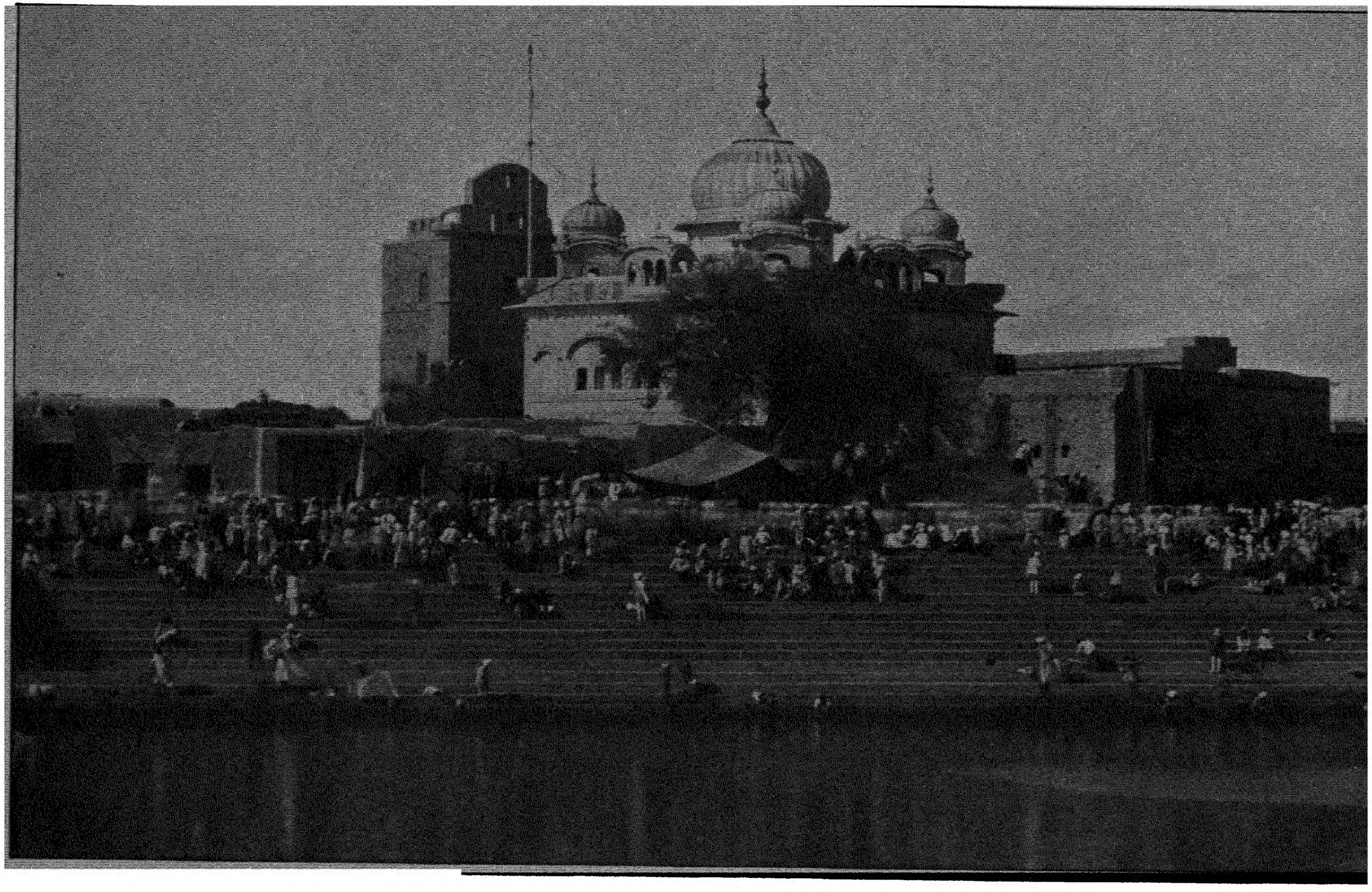
The Guru and his body-guard had taken up their position on a sand hill about two miles distant. He discharged arrows from there with fatal effect against the Muhammadans who could not see from what quarter destruction was raining on them. At the conclusion of the engagement Wazir Khan thought the Guru was killed, and ordered his men to search for his body.

The tank at Khidrana, as already stated, having become dry, Wazir Khan's army was in great straits for want of water. Kapura told him that it could only be obtained at a distance of thirty miles in front and ten miles in rear, and advised him to

march back and save the lives of his men and horses, otherwise they would all perish. To such distress was the Muhammadan army reduced, that they abandoned their dead and wounded, and relinquished their search for the body of the Guru. Wazir Khan boasted that he had killed him, and that the Emperor on hearing the joyful intelligence would greatly honour and reward him.

On finding that the Muhammadan army had departed, the Guru went to see the battle-field, relieve the wounded, and perform the obsequies of the slain. He went about wiping the faces of both dead and wounded, and extolling their unsurpassed valour. Copious tears flowed from his eyes. He said the dead had given up their lives for him, and they should abide in bliss in the Gurus' paradise. He found Mahan Singh breathing heavily and desiring a last sight of his spiritual master. The Guru told him to open his eyes, and when he did so his strength returned. The Guru invited him to ask for any boon he desired from empire to salvation. Mahan Singh thought it was best to ask for the cancellation of the deed of renunciation of the Guru drawn up by the Manjha Sikhs. The Guru at first refused, but on being pressed consented to cancel it. He drew the document from his pocket and destroyed it. Mahan Singh then breathed his last. The Guru ordered the Bairars he had recently enlisted to collect the slain and cremate them. He promised that all Sikhs who visited the place on the first of Magh, the anniversary of the battle, should become filled with the martial spirit of their sires. Khidrana has since that time been called Muktsar, or the tank of salvation, because those who fell on that spot were no more subject to transmigration.

In the process of collecting the slain it was found that another person showed signs of life. This was the heroine Bhago. The Guru addressed her :



MUKTSAR

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'Taking off thy woman's dress thou didst come to me with the Manjha Sikhs. It is well that thou hast fought here. Blessings on thy life! Arise and come with me.' She detailed the story of her departure from her home in the company of the Sikhs of the Manjha, and then continued: 'I obtained possession of a strong spear. When all the Sikhs were dead the Turks advanced on me. I spitted several of them. Others directed their weapons against me, but thou didst extend thine arm to save me. Now that I have seen thee I am happy, and have no further desire than to abide with thee.'

Chapter XXVII

The Guru thence proceeded to Saran and thence to Nautheha. The inhabitants of the latter village prayed him to leave them. He then went to Tahlian Fatah Sammun, a village about twenty miles south-west of Muktsar, where he was welcomed.

Some Sikhs from Harike came to him with an offering of a lungi and a khes. The Guru put the khes on his shoulders and tied the lungi round his loins, Man Singh remonstrated and reminded him of his own prohibition of the wearing of a lungi in this fashion, and said he was liable to a fine. The Guru replied, 'I am dressed according to the custom of the country. *Jeha des teha bhes; ter lungi modhe khes*—Every country hath its own dress;[1] a lungi for the loins and a khes (shawl) for the shoulders.'

The Guru feeling his insecurity asked that a guard should be provided for him. The warlike Sikhs put some Dogars on guard. The Guru intended to

[1] Although the Guru allowed his Sikhs to adopt the dress of every country they inhabited, yet they must not wear hats but turbans to confine the long hair they are strictly enjoined to preserve. They must also put on a *kachh* (drawers), but over it they may wear trousers.

reward the Harike Sikhs had they kept guard themselves. As it was, he blessed the Dogars and foretold that they should have possession of all the adjacent river banks. The prophecy has been fulfilled, and there their descendants have since remained.

Next day the Guru continued his journey and rested under a ber-tree, where he passed the night. The following day he proceeded to Wajidpur, some six or seven miles to the east of Firozpur. The inhabitants told him that the Emperor's drums were often heard there, and they suggested to him to depart. The Guru said that instead of the drums of the Emperor, the praises of the Sikhs should subsequently resound in the locality. The place afterwards fell into the possession of the Kanhaiya Misal.[1]

While in this neighbourhood the Guru heard the cry of a partridge and pursued it. The partridge gave chase and tired out men and horses. At last the Guru caught it, plucked it, and threw it before his hawk, which after some hesitation began to devour it. The Guru when asked the cause of this strange proceeding told the following anecdote: 'In a previous birth the partridge had been an agriculturist, and the hawk a money-lender. The agriculturist had borrowed from the money-lender, squandered the money, and then went to live in another village. The money-lender followed him and insisted on payment. The agriculturist begged for time, and promised to discharge the debt. The money-lender demanded a surety. The agriculturist said he had no surety but the Guru. The money-lender was then satisfied and went home. The agriculturist, however, ultimately failed to pay the money. Both died soon after, upon which the agriculturist became this partridge, and the money-

[1] When the Sikhs obtained supremacy over the Muhammadans they divided the Panjāb into twelve *misals* or districts, under chiefs who exercised independent authority within their limits. Most of these *misals* were absorbed by Mahārāja Ranjīt Singh.

lender my hawk. The hawk at first refused to touch the partridge as the latter had given me as surety. I have now fulfilled my suretyship by bestowing the partridge on the hawk. If any one give me again as surety and discharge not his debt, I will treat him as the hawk hath done the partridge.'

The Guru left Wajidpur and returned to Muktsar. Thence he proceeded to Rupana and thence to Bhundar, Gurusar, and Thehri. After that he proceeded to Kaljharani. Thence he marched to Chhatiana and on his way passed through several minor villages. In Chhatiana some of his soldiers clamoured for their pay, and said they would not allow him to proceed further until he had paid them their arrears. He offered them their choice of remaining his Sikhs or of taking their pay and returning to their homes. They elected to take their pay and dismissal.

At this juncture a Sikh opportunely arrived with a large pecuniary offering for the Guru. He summoned his soldiers and gave them their pay at the rate of eight annas per day for cavalry, and four annas per day for infantry. To Dan Singh, their officer, the Guru offered his pay, but he refused to take it and elected to share the Guru's fortunes. The Guru complimented him on laying the foundation-stone of the Sikh religion in Malwa as Mahan Singh had done in the Manjha.

His troops were meditating how they could extort more money from the Guru. They told him he had offered them the alternative of taking their pay or becoming Sikhs. As they had accepted the former, they were now excluded from Sikhism. They asked for double pay partly to compensate them for their religious disability, and partly to support their people at home. The Guru complied with their demand and, that he might not be pestered with further extortionate demands, buried the remainder

of the money which his pious follower had brought him.

A Muhammadan faqir called Brahmi (Ibrahim), who lived on a neighbouring mound, came to the Guru with offerings, and asked to be baptized. The Guru expressed his satisfaction at the proposal. 'Thou art the first Moslem to be baptized according to my rites. If any Moslem, whether of high or low position, in good faith desire to join the Khalsa, it is proper that he should be baptized and received into our community.' The Muhammadan was accordingly baptized and received the name Ajmer Singh.[1]

The Guru thence went to the village of Sahib Chand and thence to Kot Bhai. On his way he baptized several people. From there he proceeded to Rohila and then to Bambiha, where he remained nine days. Thence he returned to Bajak.

When the Guru was in the neighbourhood of Maluka and Kotha, one of the sect called Diwanas (madmen), who attempted forcible access to him, was cut down by his sentry. While the Guru was in Bajak, Ghudda, the Diwanas' spiritual guide, sought to avenge the death of his follower, and accordingly sent fifty men of his sect to assassinate the Guru. On learning, however, that the Guru had a strong body-guard, forty-eight of them turned back and only two, Sukkhu and Buddha, proceeded to the Guru. They carried no weapons, but whiled away their time on the journey with the music of a sarangi. On reaching the Guru instead of trying to kill him they began to play and sing for him. They sang among others the following verses :—

The soul resideth in a frail body.
Parents are not for ever, nor doth youth abide.
We must all march onwards : why should man be proud ?

The Guru was much pleased with them, and they

[1] *Sūraj Parkāsh, Ayan I*, Chapter xviii.

were equally pleased with him. To show their satisfaction and the pleasure they felt in his company, they took up his bed on their shoulders, and carried it for more than a mile. The Guru gave them a square rupee, and told them to preserve it in memory of him and promised that they should obtain whatever their hearts desired.

The Guru then proceeded to Jassi Baghwali and thence towards Talwandi Sabo, now called Damdama, in the Patiala state, halting on the way at a place called Pakka. In Talwandi Sabo resided his friend Dalla, who asked him why he had not previously applied to him for assistance against the treacherous Muhammadans. He said he could have saved the Guru much suffering. Here the Guru met some Sikhs who had come from Lahore with a musket as an offering. He asked Dalla for two men to serve as targets to make trial of the weapon. All who heard him thought he was insane and made no reply. The Guru then saw two Ranghreta Sikhs and invited them to submit to the trial. When the Guru called them they were tying on their turbans, but, so eager were they to please him, that they went before him with their turbans only half-bound, and vied with each other as to who should first be the subject of his experiment. The Guru said he only wanted one of them, and further explained that he merely desired to prove the cowardice and disloyalty of Dalla's soldiers, and show that, had they been with him in Anandpur, they would have deserted him in the hour of danger.

The Guru's wives Mata Sundari and Sahib Kaur here joined him in his wanderings. They wept copiously on hearing the fate of the young children. The Guru endeavoured to console them, and said, 'Ajit Singh, Zorawar Singh, Jujhar Singh, and Fatah Singh have been sacrificed for their religion and obtained eternal life, so why should the mothers of such heroes lament? Lo! the whole world is

transitory. There is first childhood, then youth which diminisheth day by day, and at last old age, when the body perisheth. In the presence of God what is old age, what childhood, and what youth ? They are all the same—equally of short duration. The more we love our bodies, the more suffering we endure. Love for the body is meaningless. Only those who apply it to good works profit by their lives. Your sons have gone with honour to where bliss ever abideth. Having performed the work of the immortal God they have now returned to Him. Therefore accept God's will as the best and most advantageous portion. Instead of your sons I present you with my Sikhs as a brave and worthy offspring.'

Dayal Das, a grandson of Bhai Bhagtu, came from Bhuchcho to visit the Guru. The Guru wished to baptize him, but he refused, saying he was a Sikh of the ancient fashion and wished to remain so. Ram Singh, a great-grandson of Bhai Bhagtu, came from Chakk Bhai to invite the Guru to go and stay with him. The Guru promised that he would go some day, and requested him to hold his house in readiness to receive him.

The woman Bhago who remained with the Guru after the battle of Muktsar, in a fit of devotional abstraction tore off her clothes and wandered half naked in the forest. The Guru restrained her, gave her the kachh or Sikh drawers, and allowed her again to wear man's costume. She attained a good old age, and died in Abchalanagar (Nander) revered by the Sikhs as a saint.

While the Guru was in Talwandi Wazir Khan sent a peremptory note to Dalla to surrender him, or he would dispatch an army and put them both to death. Dalla replied that the Guru was his life, and he could not part with him. If Wazir Khan sent an army, the Guru and Dalla would go into the recesses of the forest, where, even if an army

penetrated, it would perish for want of water. In fine Dalla manfully and courageously stated that he intended the Guru should reside with him for ever.

One day the Guru, probably not wishing to compromise his friend Dalla, said he would like to see the old fort of Bhatinda which had been founded by Binaipal. He first, however, in pursuance of his promise went to visit Ram Singh at Chakk Bhai. Ram Singh informed Dayal Das of the Guru's visit, and suggested to him to prepare dinner for him in Bhuchcho. He did so, but the Guru refused his hospitality and proceeded to Bhagtu on his way to Bhatinda. The Guru took up his residence on the top of the fort where now is a small temple dedicated to him.

At night some Baloches sang of Sassi and Punnu. Sassi had been brought up by a washerman. Punnu was a Baloch merchant who came to the Panjab with merchandise for sale. He met Sassi, fell in love with her, and remained with her, until his brother came and took him forcibly away by night. Sassi at daybreak hearing of his abduction followed him, and on arriving at a sandy desert was so overcome by the heat that she expired. The poet represented that she had entered the earth in quest of Punnu. Next day the Guru took occasion to expatiate on love. He said, 'Men may perform devotion and penance for hundreds of thousands of years, but it would be all in vain without the love of God.'

The Bairars told the Guru a legend regarding the founding of Bhatinda. One day, as Binaipal was hunting, he saw a wolf and a goat struggling. The goat was trying to save her young from the wolf. On the very spot where the struggle between the two animals took place Binaipal caused the fort to be erected. The Bairars told the Guru that there was a subterranean passage between Bhatinda and Bhatner in Bikaner. The chroniclers do not state

who was in possession of the fort when visited by the Guru.[1]

The Guru thence proceeded to Samma and thence returned to Talwandi Sabo. 'There his friend Dalla again met him. Dayal Das had been following the Guru for some time to present him with the sacred food he had prepared for him, and thus secure the Guru's pardon. On arriving at Damdama Ram Singh, who was in the Guru's service, interceded for Dayal Das, and the Guru was pleased to restore him to his friendship.

Wazir Khan sent another letter to Dalla to arrest the Guru, or he would plunder his country and put him to death without mercy. Dalla replied, 'O viceroy, I fear thee not, however much thou threatenest me with thine army. Having destroyed it, the Guru and I will retire into the forest where thou shalt have no power over us, and whence thou shalt have to return when thy troops have perished of hunger and thirst. I will by no means have the Guru arrested to please thee. Nay, I will defend him with my life.'

Zabardast Khan, the Viceroy of Lahore, plundered a party of Sikhs who were going to make offerings to the Guru. Wazir Khan, the viceroy of Sarhind, plundered another party going on the same errand. The Guru then repeated his exhortation to his Sikhs to wear arms and diligently practise their use. In the early days of Sikhism it was different. At that time the Guru's teaching was to remember the true Name and not annoy anybody. Farid said, 'If any one strike thee with his fists, strike him not back.' With such teaching, the Guru said, the Sikhs had become faint-hearted and ever suffered defeat. Now that the times had altered, and the Sikhs were obliged to defend themselves, he had established the

[1] There is a tradition in Bhatinda that the fort was partially destroyed by Shahāb-ul-Dīn Ghori during his campaign for the recovery of the Panjāb.

Khalsa, and whoever desired to abide in it should not fear the clash of arms, but be ever ready for the combat and the defence of his faith. At the same time the Name was still to remain the chief object of the Sikhs' adoration.

Chapter XXVIII

While the Guru was at Damdama he dictated the whole of the Granth Sahib to Bhai Mani Singh, and added for the first time the hymns and sloks of his father Guru Teg Bahadur with a slok of his own.[1]

It is said that the Guru used to have baptismal water prepared and thrown among the bushes. He explained that he did so in order that the Malwa Sikhs might increase in number and spring from every forest shrub. He used also to have pens made and scattered in different directions. By this he meant that the inhabitants of the place should become learned and expert penmen.

The Guru while at Damdama used in the afternoon to go into the forest and sit under a jand-tree. The place was hence called Jandiana. A temple was subsequently erected there. At night the Guru used to return to Damdama. It was while in this neighbourhood he baptized Dalla and one hundred other Sikhs.

[1] Slok LIV. It may here be stated that there were three editions of the Granth Sāhib. The first was written by Bhāi Gur Dās, the second by Bhāi Banno, and the third by Bhāi Mani Singh, under the superintendence of Guru Gobind Singh. The first two are believed to exist still, one being at Kartārpur in the Jalandhar District, and the other at Māngat in the Gujrāt District of the Panjāb. Guru Gobind Singh's copy of the Granth Sāhib was the most complete. It is unfortunately not now extant. It was either destroyed or taken away as booty by Ahmad Shāh Durāni when he despoiled and profaned the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

The Granth of the tenth Guru was really the *Daswen Pādshāh ka Granth*. The large volume which now bears that title, was compiled from various materials twenty-six years after his demise.

The Guru sent for Tilok Singh and Ram Singh who had performed the obsequies of his two sons Ajit Singh and Zorawar Singh, fallen at Chamkaur. They came to visit him and made him large offerings. The Guru was well pleased with them and blessed them and their offspring. It may be here mentioned that Ram Singh is the ancestor of the Chief of Patiala, and Tilok Singh the ancestor of the chiefs of Nabha and Jind.[1]

One day the Guru said to Dalla, 'That is a fine field of wheat I see.' Dalla replied, 'That is grass, O true Guru, wheat groweth not here. Had we wheat the Muhammadans would oppress us. Say that *moth* and *bajra*[2] are growing here.' Another day the Guru said, 'O Dalla, I see excellent sugar-cane here.' Dalla made the same reply as before when the Guru said he had seen wheat. The Guru said, 'Thou knowest not thine advantage. I desire to make thy land as fertile as Sarhind. The Turks whom thou fearest shall soon perish, and the soil of Malwa in time bear wheat and sugar-cane.' This prophecy has been fulfilled. Canals made by the British Government have since fertilized that part of the country.

It was here the Guru heard that Kapura had been

[1] It is stated by several Sikh writers that Tilok Singh was present at the battle of Chamkaur. Though inexperienced in war, he conceived a desire to engage in it, and went into the thick of the combat. A Pathān endeavoured to pierce him with a lance. He snatched the lance from the Pathān's hands and cut off his head with his sword. He then took the head on the Pathān's lance to the Guru. The Guru on seeing him approach cried out, *Āo, Tilok Sing, jang ke lāre*—Come, Tilok Singh, Bridegroom of war.

Tilok Singh and Rām Singh had been hereditary Sikhs, and were ever regarded affectionately by the Guru, as is evidenced by his letter of the 2nd of Bhādon, Sambat 1753 (A. D. 1696), in which he wrote, *Meri tere upar bahut khushi hai, aur terā ghar mera hai*, that is, I am very well pleased with you, my house is yours, and your house is mine. This letter is now preserved with other relics of the Guru in the Sikh state of Nābha.

[2] *Moth* and *bajra* are inferior Indian cereals only consumed by the poorest classes.

put to death by Isa Khan of Kot Isa Khan in the Firozpur district. The cause and manner of his death were as follows :—Kaul, a descendant of Prithi Chand, had established a religious fair at Dhilwan ; Kapura attended it and became involved in a drunken brawl with some of the pilgrims. Kaul sent a great-grandson of his to interpose, but the youth was killed. Another great-grandson whom he dispatched on a similar errand met with the same fate. On this Abhai Ram, the father of the youths slain, became furious with Kapura, desired that the Guru's curse on him might speedily take effect, and his line be extirpated. Isa Khan with all haste employed a party of men to attack Kapura, whom he suspected to be a friend of the Guru. The latter tried to defend himself, but was worsted, and then tried to conceal himself in a haystack. Isa Khan dragged him forth, and made him a prisoner. When taking him away he thought he would be only an encumbrance, so he ordered him to be hanged on the nearest tree. Kapura himself remembered the Guru's curse, that his head should be put into a bag of ashes, so he requested that it should be done before his execution, that the words of the Guru might be fulfilled, and that he might be thus saved from further transmigration.

On one occasion a question arose as to what the earth rested on. The theories of the Hindus and other sects were put forward. The Guru concluded the discussion by saying that the earth was supported by the power of God who alone was true and permanent. He on that occasion repeated the sixteenth pauri of the Japji.

Daya Singh and Dharm Singh, whom the Guru had sent with the Zafarnama to the Emperor, succeeded in delivering it, and were furnished with a parwana of safe conduct for their return journey. The perusal of the Zafarnama is said to have softened the Emperor's heart and led him to repent ;

hence his permission to the Guru's messengers to return to their own country in peace and safety. They, however, received no verbal or written reply to the Guru's letter.

The Guru asked Dalla to accompany him to the south of India. Dalla replied that he considered his humble couch at Damdama was equal to the throne of Dihli, and he pressed the Guru and his Sikhs to remain with him. The Bairars in the Guru's service also endeavoured to dissuade him from his contemplated journey. He refused to listen to them, and on this several of them left his service. The Guru was now left with only Dalla Singh; the two great-grandsons of Bhai Bhagtu, namely, Ram Singh and his brother Fatah Singh; Param Singh and Dharm Singh, descendants of Bhai Rupa; and Bhai Mani Singh, the Sikh biographer and arranger of the Ad Granth and the tenth Guru's Granth.

Their first march was to Kewal, thence to Jhorar, thence to Jhanda, and thence to Sarsa. Param Singh and Dharm Singh had a new bed provided for the Guru at every march. Dalla Singh to every one's intense amazement absconded during the march in the dead of night, and took with him a Sodhi and several Bairars. The Guru dismissed Fatah Singh on Ram Singh's representation that his services and assistance were required at home.

The Guru thence proceeded to Nauhar, a town of Bikaner about twenty miles south-west of Sarsa. Though the inhabitants were very rich, they do not appear to have been forward in providing supplies for the Guru and his few remaining followers. On the contrary, there was great commotion in the town because one of his Sikhs had accidentally killed a pigeon. When the Guru went into the market-place he saw that the inhabitants were very proud of their wealth, and he foretold that it should all soon vanish. In A. D. 1756 a Sikh expedition was

directed against Charupur (Chainpura), but on finding the water on the march brackish, the soldiers made a diversion and plundered Nauhar.

Thence the Guru proceeded to Bahaduran. There he gave Param Singh and Dharm Singh a horse each and also arms for their defence. On arriving at Sahewa (Saio) the Guru noticed that through respect for him they were taking the arms on their heads and walking beside their chargers as being a Guru's gifts. The Guru said that they should obtain whatever they required, and that their tongues should be to them as arms. On bidding them farewell he presented them with a religious work containing the morning and evening divine services of the Sikhs.

The Guru's next march was to Madhu Singhana. He thence proceeded to Pushkar, a place of pilgrimage sacred to Brahma. A Brahman called Chetan showed the Guru the sacred places of Ajmer. The Guru while in that neighbourhood was often severely heckled on the subject of his dress. People said it was neither Hindu nor Muhammadan. The Guru admitted the fact, and said it was the dress of the third distinct sect which he had established.

Thence the Guru proceeded to Narainpur, generally known as Dadudwara, where the saint Dadu had lived and flourished. His shrine had by this time descended to a Mahant called Jait, who quoted two lines of Dadu to the Guru :—

Dadu, surrender thy claim to every worldly thing ; pass thy days without claims.

How many have departed after trading in this grocer's shop ! [1]

The Guru said these lines were applicable to the invention of a religion, but ill suited to its preservation. Rather should the lines be read :—

[1] That is, the world.

Asserting thy claim in the world plunder the wicked.
Extirpate him who doeth thee evil.

The Mahant quoted two other lines to the Guru :—

Dadu, taking the times as they come, be satisfied with this Kal age.

If any one throw a clod or a brick at thee, lift it on thy head.

The Guru would not admit the last line, and altered it thus :—

If any one throw a clod or a brick at thee, angrily strike him with a stone.

The Guru then explained the principles of his own religion to the Mahant: 'This age is very evil. The wicked rule in it, and cause suffering to saints and holy men. Tyrants therefore deserve to be punished. They will not refrain as long as they are pardoned. O Mahant, they who bear arms, who remember the true Name and sacrifice their lives for their faith, shall go straight to paradise. Therefore I have established the Khalsa religion, given my followers arms, and made them heroes.'

The Guru was censured by his staff for lifting his arrow in salutation of Dadu's shrine. Man Singh quoted the Guru's own written instructions, *Gor marhi mat bhul na mane*—Worship not even by mistake Muhammadan or Hindu cemeteries or places of cremation. The Guru explained that he saluted the shrine to test his Sikhs' devotion and their recollection of his instructions. The Guru, however, admitted that he had technically rendered himself liable to a fine, and cheerfully paid one hundred and twenty-five rupees.

The Guru thence went to Lali, thence to Magharoda, and thence to Kulait. Here he met Daya Singh and Dharm Singh returning from their embassy to Aurangzeb. It is probable the embassy reached the Emperor when he was ill. The envoys

told the Guru that when they left the Emperor's court they heard he had been seized with a colic.

The Guru thence proceeded to Baghaur. Here he heard of Aurangzeb's death and the accession of his second son Tara Azim, called Muhammad Azim Shah by Muhammadan historians. The inhabitants of Baghaur refused supplies and quarrelled with the Guru's escort. A camel belonging to the Guru trespassed on one of the town gardens. The gardeners beat the camel and abused the camel-driver. Upon this the Sikhs went in a body and assaulted the gardeners. This led to a counter assault and fighting which lasted two days. By this time the Sikhs had stormed and plundered the city, but the fort remained to be captured. By the advice of Ratan Singh, a Sikh whom the Guru must have met on his travels, a cannon was placed on a hill commanding the fort. After a brief cannonade the occupants held out a flag of truce. Peace was proclaimed, but on the arrival of the raja of the place, who had been absent when the fighting began, hostilities were resumed. Dharm Singh killed the raja's commander-in-chief, and the Guru killed the raja himself. The Baghaur army then fled, and was pursued by the Sikhs until the Guru recalled them. Upon this the Guru resumed his march. On setting out he told the Sikhs that the Turks should soon fight against one another, and that the usurper, Tara Azim, should be killed.

CHAPTER XXIX

When Aurangzeb died, his eldest son, Bahadur Shah, was engaged in a military expedition in Afghanistan.[1] When his younger brother Tara Azim usurped the throne, Badadur Shah hastened back

[1] The Emperor Aurangzeb had three sons, Bahādur Shāh, Muhammad Āzim Shāh (called Tāra Azim by the Sikhs), and Muhammad Kām Bakhsh.

to India to claim and do battle for his heritage. He consulted Nand Lal, a friend of his, as to how he should be successful. Nand Lal advised him to seek the Guru's assistance. The Guru, on being appealed to, promised him not only assistance but sovereignty if he agreed to a request he was about to make, and did not prove false like his father. Bahadur Shah was pleased to accept these vague conditions, and informed the Guru accordingly.

The Guru sent Dharm Singh with some trusty Sikhs to render him all possible assistance, and, feeling anxiety regarding the grave political circumstances of the country, deemed it advisable to retrace his steps to the north in the hope of meeting and conferring with the Emperor.

When Bahadur Shah had fully equipped his army, he marched to Agra. Tara Azim, who was at the time in distant Ahmadnagar, on hearing of his brother's operations, marched by Gualiar to contend with him for empire. Bahadur Shah advanced to meet him and encamped at Jaju near Dhaulpur (Dholpur) where the opposing armies met.[1] After a fight of three days' duration, not only Tara Azim, but several of his principal officers were slain. Upon this his army fled and victory remained with Bahadur Shah. He, now undisputed monarch of India, returned to Agra and dispatched Dharm Singh to inform the Guru of his victory.

On the Guru's arrival in Dihli he encamped on the left bank of the Jamna. His Sikhs thought it unsafe for him to enter that strong Muhammadan and imperial centre. He erected a temple on the spot where his father Guru Teg Bahadur had been cremated. On hearing of Bahadur Shah's victory the Guru resolved to go to Agra to congratulate him, and made arrangements to leave his wives in Dihli under the protection of his Sikhs. Upon hearing this Mata Sundari wept copiously. The Guru

[1] *W'āqiāt Hind.*

consoled her with the arguments and reflections he had previously employed at Damdama on the transitoriness of human life and the bliss in which her son abode as a mighty hero and religious martyr.

A goldsmith residing in Dihli came to the Guru to pray him to grant him the favour of a son. One day as the Guru went to the chase accompanied among others by the goldsmith, they saw a woman abandon her male infant in the forest. The Guru told the goldsmith to take and rear the child. The goldsmith said he could not afford a wet-nurse. The Guru directed him to take some water, recite Wahguru over it, and wash his wife's breasts therewith. When she took the child in her lap milk would at once come in abundance. The goldsmith accepted the Guru's advice, and the promised result was obtained. When the child was five years of age, he was seen by Mata Sundari, who found in him a marvellous likeness to her martyred son, and duly adopted him.

Sahib Kaur importuned the Guru to allow her to accompany him. At last he yielded to her entreaties. Bahadur Shah sent a messenger to the Guru to expedite his departure. The messenger informed him that the Emperor feared the bigotry of his co-religionists were he himself to pay the first visit.

The Guru on the third day after his departure from Dihli arrived at Mathura and encamped at Suraj Kund, on the banks of the Jamna. He made a tour through Bindraban and visited all its famous and interesting places.

On his journey to Agra the Guru wanted water. One of his Sikhs fetched it from the house of a barren woman of the priestly class, and told the Guru that, there being no children there, the water must be pure. The Guru would not admit that children defiled water, and asked it to be brought him from some house, where there were sons and daughters. On that occasion he said, 'A hermit

is best when alone; pure is his body and pure his mind; but where there is a householder with a large family, his house is still purer, and so are his body, mind, and understanding.'

The Guru duly met the Emperor Bahadur Shah in Agra. The Emperor thanked him for such assistance as he had given him in obtaining the throne, made him costly presents, and invited him to spend some time with him. The Guru was pleased to accept the invitation.

One day as the Guru and a high officer were seated together, a Saiyid of Sarhind asked the Guru if he could perform a miracle. The Guru replied that miracles were in the power of the Emperor. He could raise a humble person to the highest office and dignity, or degrade him therefrom. The Saiyid said he knew that, but had the Guru himself the power of working any miracles? Upon this the Guru drew forth a gold coin and said that it was a miracle, for everything could be purchased with it. The Saiyid asked if he could show any further miracles. In reply the Guru drew his sword, and said that that also was a miracle. It could cut off heads and confer thrones and empires upon those who wielded it with dexterity. Upon this the Saiyid hung down his head and asked no further questions.

Some rajas of Rajputana came to visit the Guru. He told them they did one very regrettable thing, namely, they gave their daughters in marriage to Muhammadan emperors and princes. He made them swear that they would for the future desist from the practice.

One day in conversation with the Guru the Emperor maintained that if any one were to repeat the Muhammadan creed, he should not be consigned to hell. The Guru denied that the creed had that efficacy. If any one after repeating it were to do evil, the repetition of the creed would not avail him.

The Emperor asked how he was to be assured of that. The Guru replied, 'The creed is stamped on thy rupee; we shall see the effect thereof.' The Guru secretly sent a bad rupee to the market-place to be changed. The money-changer applied to at once rejected it as counterfeit. It was then taken to the other money-changers with the same result. The Guru then addressed the Emperor: 'See, in thine empire, even in thine own market-place, no one hath paid any regard to thy creed engraved on this rupee, so how shall it conduct men to heaven? Thou to-day enjoyest empire, and canst do what thou pleasest. If here in thy presence this bad rupee even with the creed on it cannot pass, how can it be accepted by another monarch? In God's court gilding availeth not. The counterfeit and the genuine are there distinguished, and men obtain the reward or punishment due to their acts. Thy creed, therefore, as in the present case, cannot avail thee for admission into heaven without good works. When all accounts are called for by the Great Examiner, it is only those who show balances to their credit who shall be delivered.'

The Guru and the Emperor's conversation turned on the subject of Hindu pilgrimages. The Guru said he himself had no concern with them. Next day when he visited the Emperor, the latter said there were two ways—the Hindu and the Musalman—in the world, and inquired which the Guru preferred to follow. The Guru said he was well disposed towards both, and he instructed every one as he found him. The Emperor replied: 'There is one God and one faith. On what dost thou rely?' The Guru smiled and said, 'My brother, there are three Gods.' The Emperor inquired where that was written, and added, 'A child born yesterday knoweth there is only one God.' The Guru continued, 'Why did thine ancestors hinder the Hindus from worshipping Ram, Narayan, and tell them they must

only utter Maula Pak or Khuda[1]? Thou proclaimest that heaven is made for Moslems and hell for the Hindus. Hindus will not associate with any one who adoreth Maula Pak or Khuda. Such is the quarrel between the two sects. Know that my religion is that regarding which there is no controversy. The Hindus have a God whom Moslems do not acknowledge, and I have a God whom neither of them acknowledge.'

The Emperor one day preached the Guru a sermon against Hindu superstitions. The Guru agreed with him, but at the same time would not flatter the Muhammadan religion. He said that as the Hindu worshipped stones, so did the Muhammadans worship departed saints and even a black lifeless slab at Makka; and as the Hindus when at prayer turned their faces to the east, the Muhammadans turned their faces to the west. The Muhammadans supposed that their prophet could mediate for them, but he had become ashes, and what advantage could his ashes or those of his saints confer on men? The Guru thus found fault with both the Hindu and Muhammadan religions, and said that he had struck out a religion of his own, the basis of which was the worship of the sole immortal God. Some discussion arose on the subject of the Guru's discourse, but he promptly answered all objections.

The Guru now explicitly stated the request he had several times hinted that he desired to make. It was to deliver up to him Wazir Khan who had killed his children at Sarhind. The Emperor naturally desired to know what the Guru proposed to do with him. The Guru candidly replied that he would have life for life, according to the law of retaliation contained in the Emperor's sacred book. The Emperor shuddered on hearing this request, but gave no direct refusal. He said he would reply after consulting his ministers. At the same time

[1] Muhammadan names of God.

he felt that if he surrendered a viceroy to the Guru, a popular rebellion and a mutiny of his Muhammadan army would be the result. The Emperor therefore requested the Guru to wait for a year until his rule was more firmly established, and then he would consider the request made. The Guru on this reproached the Emperor with falsehood, and said that a Sikh[1] should arise who should call the false and counterfeit to account, who should seize and kill the Emperor's viceroys, priests, and magistrates, and contribute to the ruin of the Mughal empire.

Notwithstanding this blunt language and undisguised menace, the Emperor invited the Guru to go with him on a visit to Jaipur and other cities. The Guru promised to join him on the march. After a few days he set out and overtook the Emperor. They both visited Jodhpur and Chitaur. Each raja sent his envoy to conciliate and do homage to the Guru. At Chitaur there arose a quarrel between the Sikhs and the Rajputs on account of some grass the former had taken for their horses. The Guru censured his Sikhs, and ordered them to take nothing for the future without payment.

The Emperor and the Guru continued their journey to the Narbada river. The quarrel between the Sikhs and the Muhammadans was kept alive by the Emperor's escort, many of whom were relations of the imperial soldiers slain by the Sikhs at Anandpur. The Guru sent Man Singh, one of his Five Beloved, to adjust the difference between both parties. While on his mission of peace the brave Man Singh, one of the surviving heroes of Chamkaur, who had never parted from the Guru, was assassinated by a fanatic. The Emperor was much distressed on hearing of his death, and ordered that his murderer should be seized and given up to the Guru for punishment. The Guru pardoned him,

[1] No doubt Banda was meant.

and thus gained great praise from the Muhammadans for his mercy and clemency.

The Emperor and the Guru continued their march to Burhanpur on the Tapti river. The inhabitants had prepared a house there for the Guru, where he passed some time. A holy man came to visit him and said, 'O Guru, I was present with thy father on the bank of the Brahmaputra when thou wert born in Patna. He said that thou shouldst afterwards travel to the south of India. The prophecy having now been fulfilled, I have come to meet and welcome thee.' He then gave the Guru hospitable entertainment.

The Emperor continued his journey and left the Guru at Burhanpur. After some days the Emperor wrote to him to join him, and he acceded to his request. Both then proceeded to Puna and thence to Nander on the margin of the river Godavari in the present state of Haidarabad and about one hundred and fifty miles north-west of its capital.

CHAPTER XXX

The original name of Nander was Nau Nand Dehra, because it is said that nine rikhis dwelt there in prehistoric times. It is supposed to occupy the site of the ancient city of Tagara described by the author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. In the middle of the fourth century it was still a place of importance and the capital of a petty kingdom. Its fortifications have long since been dismantled or have perished by lapse of time; and there is now no trace of any ancient buildings save a few old temple pillars preserved in a small mosque near the court of the sub-collector. The country is diversified by dale and hillock along the lazily flowing Godavari.

The Guru arrived in Nander in Sawan (July–August), A. D. 1707, with some infantry and two or

three hundred cavalry equipped with lances. He went to the hut of Madho Das, a Bairagi hermit. Finding the Bairagi absent, and hearing that he possessed such skill in magic that he could overthrow any one who sat on his couch, the Guru proceeded to sit thereon and make himself at home. He shot one of the Bairagi's goats and cooked and ate the flesh. A disciple went to inform the Bairagi of the Guru's proceedings. It was a sacrilege to kill an animal at the Bairagi's seat, and another sacrilege to take possession of the couch which served him as a throne. He came to demand an explanation of the intruder's strange conduct. The Bairagi represented that the place had been first his guru's seat, then his own, and he did not desire to have it usurped by an unknown stranger, who moreover committed violence and sacrilege. The Guru replied that he had arrived fatigued in Nander, and having heard of the Bairagi's hospitality and philanthropy, took the liberty of testing the favourable accounts he had received. The Bairagi accepted the Guru's explanation, recognized from his words and manner that he was a great man, and called himself his Banda—slave—the name by which he was subsequently known.

Banda, whose original name was Lachmandev, was son of Ramdev Rajput and native of Rajauri in the Himalayan State of Punch. Before he adopted a religious rôle he had been a zamindar or cultivator. In early years he practised the use of firearms and was devoted to the chase. Once when he shot a female deer he found two young ones in her womb. He was so distressed at what he had done, that he decided to renounce the world and became a disciple of a faqir named Janki Prasad. As a wandering mendicant he made his way to the source of the Godavari at Nasik. He there made himself a hut and began to perform austerities.

A Jogi called Luni visited him and instructed him

in the science of Jog and incantations. Being thus accomplished, he set out again on his travels, and followed the source of the Godavari until he arrived in Nander. There he became known as a holy man in possession of many charms for the acquisition of spiritual and temporal advantages. He used to pray and perform penance on a little mound overlooking the Godavari, and thence at intervals watch its slow and dreamy motion as if it were loth to lose itself in the open sea.

The Guru was pleased with the position and seclusion of Nander, and decided to make it his permanent abode. He used to sit in prayer and meditation on a small stone structure on the margin of the river. Near it is a little larger building where the Granth Sahib was read. It is now and has been for years in a state of dilapidation.

The Guru instructed Banda in the tenets of his religion, and in due time baptized him according to the new rites. On that occasion Banda received the name Gurbakhsh Singh, but continued to be known as Banda. He conceived a great affection for the true religious guide he had at last found, and one day asked him if there were any service he could perform for him. The Guru after reflection found that he had an account to settle with the Muhammadans of the Panjab, and replied, 'I have come into the world to consolidate the faith and destroy oppressors. Art thou prepared to assist me?' Banda promised to undertake any enterprise suggested by the Guru. Upon this he was enjoined to proceed to the Panjab and wreak vengeance on the enemies of the Khalsa. 'Thou hast called thyself my slave,' said the Guru, 'but thou shalt be the most exalted of all.'

Saying this the Guru presented him with five arrows and thus addressed him, 'As long as thou remainest continent, thy glory shall increase. He who is continent, turneth not away from the combat,

and his opponents cannot withstand him. The continent man succeedeth in everything. Once thou forsakest the Khalsa principles and associatest unlawfully with woman, thy courage shall depart.' He then ordered Banda to proceed towards the Jamna, wait at a little distance from Buria for reinforcements which he would cause to be sent him, then go to Sadhaura—Buria and Sadhaura are both in the present district of Ambala—and plunder and devastate it. The reason was that the Muhammadans of the place had caused Budhu Shah and his disciples to be executed by the Emperor for the offence of having assisted the Guru at the battle of Bhangani. When Banda had disposed of the Guru's enemies at Sadhaura, he was to proceed to sack some more Muhammadan cities, then march to Sarhind, and put its governor Wazir Khan to death. The Guru gave him instructions to cut off Wazir Khan's head with his own hands, and not entrust this pious duty to any subordinate. This done Banda was commissioned to go to the hills and search for the hill Rajas who had so often and so cruelly persecuted the Guru, and mete out to them the same justice as to the Mughal enemies of the Khalsa.

With Banda the Guru dispatched Baba Binod Singh, his son Baba Kahn Singh—descendants of Guru Angad—and Baz Singh, a descendant of Guru Amar Das, who were all three to give Banda further instructions in the new religion he had adopted. With these the Guru sent five other Sikhs to assist in the enterprise and support the martial fame of the Khalsa.

After Banda's departure the Guru lived at various places in the immediate neighbourhood—at the Shikar Ghat, or game ferry, whence he used to go hunting, at the Nagina Ghat, where a Sikh presented him with a valuable signet ring which he flung into the river, at the Hira Ghat where he disposed in

a similar manner of a valuable diamond ring presented him by the Emperor while in Nander, and at the spot now called the Sangat Sahib, where he used to give religious instruction to his followers and expound to them the Granth Sahib.

While at the Sangat Sahib, a Multani Sikh brought the Guru an offering of a bow and two arrows. He was much pleased, and put the bow to the test by discharging one of the arrows from it. He sent one of his followers to inquire where the arrow had fallen. On being informed of the spot he said that was where he wished to reside. The Muhammadans objected, but their objection was overruled by the Emperor, who made the Guru a present of the land. He went and abode there, and made it the scene of his propaganda. It is the place on which his shrine was subsequently erected.

After some time a Pathan one day came and claimed from the Guru a sum of eleven thousand rupees as the price of horses he had supplied him. The Guru had not sufficient funds to discharge the debt. He said that thirty years after his decease the Sikhs should be in power, and the Pathan had only to present the Guru's acknowledgement of the debt to their leaders, when he should receive the amount many hundredfold. The debt was duly discharged by the Sikhs under happier and more prosperous circumstances.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Guru feeling that his end was approaching desired to send Sahib Kaur, to her co-wife Sundari whom he had left in Dihli on his departure to the south of India. He knew that she could not endure the shock which his demise would cause her. She at first refused to leave Nander, saying that she had made a vow never to take her daily food without seeing the Guru, and how could she

fulfil her vow if she were to part from him? The Guru then gave her six weapons which had belonged to his grandfather Guru Har Gobind, and told her to look at them whenever she desired to behold him. With these and other inducements he at last persuaded her to depart. She was accompanied by Bhai Mani Singh and both were enjoined to comfort and console Sundari.

The current Sikh account of the Guru's death is that he was stabbed by Gul Khan, a grandson of Painda Khan, in revenge for the death of the latter at the hands of Guru Har Gobind.[1] More probable is the account given in one of the recensions of *Bahadur Shah's history*:—The Guru was in the habit of constantly addressing assemblies of worldly persons, religious fanatics, and indeed all varieties of people. One day an Afghan, who frequently attended these meetings, was sitting listening to him, when certain expressions which were disagreeable to the ears of the faithful fell from the Guru's tongue. The Afghan was enraged and, regardless of the Guru's dignity and importance, stabbed him twice or thrice with a poniard.

[1] Thucydides, the Greek historian, cites a proverb to the effect that the gratification of revenge is the sweetest feeling among mortals—*Ἅμα δ' ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι ἐκγενησόμενον ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενόν που ἥδιστον εἶναι*—and even one of the most Christian of poets thought it not unbecoming his religion and philosophy to approve of the anger of one of the denizens of his Inferno for his unavenged death. His passion for revenge and his resentment at the inaction of his poetic relative only enhanced pity and estimation for him—

ond' ei sen gío
Senza parlarmi, sì com' io stimo;
Ed in ciò m'ha e' fatto a sè più pio.

Dante's *Inferno*.

Several Sikhs suppose that Gul Khān was specially deputed by the Emperor Bahādur Shāh to assassinate the Guru because he had importuned him to fulfil a promise solemnly made. It has been thought the Emperor believed that if he could remove the Guru from his path, all troubles would be at an end.

The Emperor on hearing of the outrage dispatched some of his most skilful surgeons to attend to the Guru's injuries; and so skilfully did they perform their duty that the Guru's wounds were nearly healed in a fortnight, after which the surgeons took their leave as being no longer required. In a short time the Emperor again sent to inquire after the Guru's health and made him several offerings which included two bows. A discussion arose whether the Guru could bend them. On this he took up one and on bending it burst open his imperfectly healed wounds. Blood began to flow copiously. The wound was bound up by the Guru's attendants, but this time it was past medicament.

The Guru set apart five hundred rupees for the preparation and distribution of sacred food and one hundred rupees to purchase sandal-wood and whatever else was necessary for his obsequies. His Sikhs came to him, and said that while he was alive they had the benefit of his presence, but they required instruction which might remind them of him hereafter and guide them to salvation. The Guru replied, ' O dear and beloved Khalsa, the immortal God's will can never be resisted. He who is born must assuredly die. Guru Arjan hath said, " Everything we behold shall perish." Night and day are merely expressions of time. It is the immortal God alone who ever abideth. All other beings, however holy and exalted, must depart when the last moment allotted them arriveth, for none can escape the primordial law of corporeal dissolution. All this world, composed of the five elements, is Death's prey. When the materials perish, how can the fabric remain ? God the Creator and Cherisher of all is alone immortal. Brahma, Vishnu, Shiv, and the other gods of the Hindus perished at their appointed time. Of what account is man ? Wherefore, O my friends, it is not good to be unduly enamoured of this fragile body. Know that the light of the imperishable God whose attri-

butes are permanence, consciousness, and happiness, shineth ever in you. Wherefore always abide in cheerfulness, and never give way to mourning. God is ever the same. He is neither young nor old. He is not born, neither doth he die. He feeleth not pain or poverty. Know that the true Guru abideth as He. Creatures who are steeped in bodily pride are very unhappy, and night and day subject to love and hate. Ever entangled and involved in the deadly sins, they perish by mutual enmity and at last find their abode in hell. Yet for the love of such creatures the Guru assumed birth to deliver them. He hath instructed them in the true Name, and very fortunate are they who have received and treasured his instruction. By it they are enabled to save themselves and others from the perils of the world's ocean. As when after drought rain falleth and there is abundance, so the Guru, seeing human beings suffering and yearning for happiness, came to bestow it on them and remove their sorrows by his teaching. And as the rain remaineth where it falleth, so the Guru's instruction ever abideth with his disciples. The Sikhs who love the true Guru are in turn beloved by him. O Khalsa, remember the true Name. The Guru hath arrayed you in arms to procure you the sovereignty of the earth. Those who have died in battle have gone to an abode of bliss. I have attached you to the skirt of the immortal God and entrusted you to Him. Read the Granth Sahib or listen to it, so shall your minds receive consolation, and you shall undoubtedly obtain an abode in the Guru's heaven. They who remember the true Name render their lives profitable, and when they depart enter the mansions of eternal happiness.'

When the Sikhs came again to take their last farewell of the Guru, they inquired who was to succeed him. He replied, 'I have entrusted you to the immortal God. Ever remain under His protection, and trust to none besides. Wherever there are five

Sikhs assembled who abide by the Guru's teachings, know that I am in the midst of them. He who serveth them shall obtain the reward thereof—the fulfilment of all his heart's desires. Read the history of your Gurus from the time of Guru Nanak. Henceforth the Guru shall be the Khalsa and the Khalsa the Guru. I have infused my mental and bodily spirit into the Granth Sahib and the Khalsa.'

After this the Guru bathed and changed his dress. He then read the Japji and repeated an Ardas or supplication. While doing so, he gave instructions that no clothes should be bestowed as alms in his name. He then put on a muslin waist-band, slung his bow on his shoulder and took his musket in his hand. He opened the Granth Sahib and placing five paise and a coco-nut before it solemnly bowed to it as his successor. Then uttering '*Wahguru ji ka Khalsa! Wahguru ji ki fatah!*' he circumambulated the sacred volume and said, 'O beloved Khalsa, let him who desireth to behold me, behold the Guru Granth. Obey the Granth Sahib. It is the visible body of the Guru. And let him who desireth to meet me diligently search its hymns.'

The Guru went to an enclosure formed of tent walls where his bier had been erected. In the end of the night—a watch before day—he lay on his bier, and directed all his Sikhs except Bhai Santokh Singh,[1] who was specially attached to him, to go to their homes. He then gave his last orders to his last attendant. 'Keep my kitchen ever open, and receive offerings for its maintenance. If any one erect a shrine in my honour, his offspring shall perish.' Bhai Santokh Singh represented that the Sikhs were few at Nander, and how were offerings to be obtained? The Guru replied, 'O Bhai Santokh Singh, have patience. Singhs of mine of very great eminence shall come here and make copious offerings. Every-

[1] This is a different man from the author of the *Sūraj Parkāsh*.

thing shall be obtained by the favour of Guru Nanak.' He then, in grateful acknowledgement of the spiritual benefactions of the founder of his religion, uttered a Persian distich, the translation of which is:—

Gobind Singh obtained from Guru Nanak
Hospitality, the sword, victory, and prompt assistance.[1]

The Guru then breathed his last. The Sikhs made preparations for his obsequies as he had instructed them, the Sohila was solemnly chanted, and sacred food distributed.

While all were mourning the loss of the Guru a hermit arrived and said, 'You suppose that the Guru is dead. I saw him this very morning riding his bay horse. When I bowed to him he said, "Come, O hermit, let me behold thee. Very happy am I that I have met thee at the last moment." I then asked him whither he was wending his way. He smiled and said he was going to the forest on a hunting excursion. He had his bow in his hand, and his arrows were fastened with a strap to his waist.'

The Sikhs who heard this statement arrived at the conclusion that it was all the Guru's play, that he dwelt in uninterrupted bliss, and that he showed himself wherever he was remembered. He had merely come into the world, they said, to make trial of their faith, and remove the ills of existence. Wherefore for such a Guru who had departed bodily to heaven, there ought to be no mourning. The ashes of his bier were collected and a platform built over them. The Khalsa, to whom the Guruship had been entrusted, declared that all those who visited the spot should receive due spiritual reward.

The Guru departed from the scene of his earthly

[1] These lines were impressed on a seal made by the Sikhs after the Guru's demise, and were adopted by Ranjit Singh for his coinage after he had assumed the title of Mahārāja.

triumphs and reverses on Thursday, the fifth day of the bright half of Kartik, Sambat 1765 (A.D. 1708), having exercised spiritual and temporal sovereignty over the Sikhs for three and thirty years, and resided in Nander for fourteen months and ten days.

The Sikh temple at Nander, called Abchalnagar, is an imposing structure with a cupola and two minarets. The interior is surrounded by a wall of martial implements emblematic of the militant side of the Guru's character. It was built by Mahārāja Ranjit Singh in 1832 in defiance of the Guru's interdiction. Additions are being continually made to the edifice by the contributions of devout Sikhs.[1]

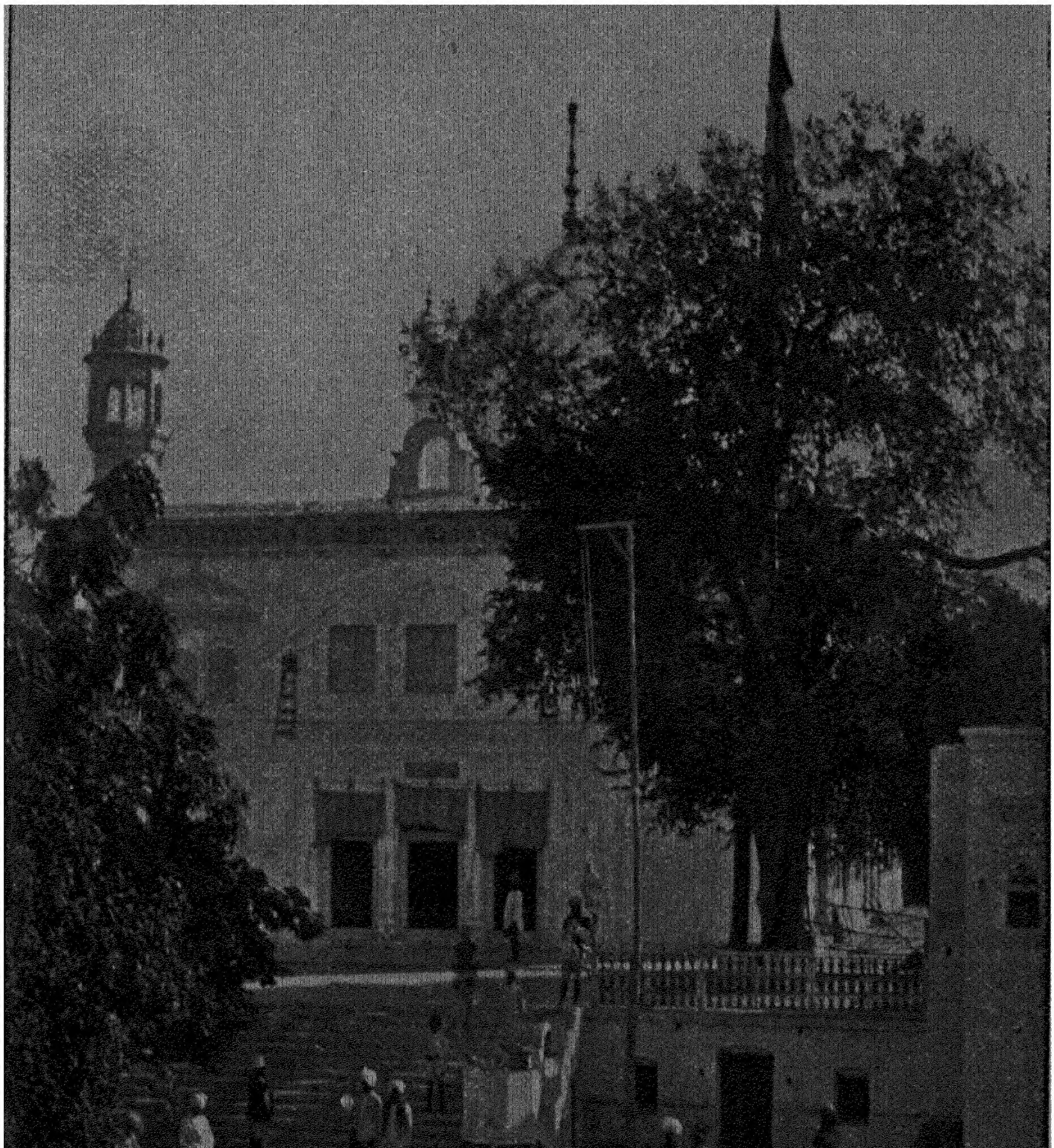
CHAPTER XXXII

We now proceed to continue the history of Banda. Having set out for the Panjab in accordance with the Guru's instructions, and in due time taken up his post on an eminence near Buria, he found there the reinforcements promised by the Guru. They came in numbers and clamoured for food. To supply themselves they were obliged to resort to forcible measures. Upon this there arose a violent altercation between the Sikhs and the villagers, in which the latter were

[1] The state of Haidarābād has set aside the revenue of five villages, namely, Bishanpuri, Bari, Bansari, Masor, and Elki, for the maintenance of the shrine. The yearly revenue of these villages amounts to about eighteen thousand rupees. The Sikh custodians of the shrine receive a similar sum from the State for their own maintenance.

It may here be mentioned that all places of worship in the Haidarābād territory receive state assistance. A Hindu temple at the capital receives an annual subsidy of seventy thousand rupees. In every village Hindu as well as Muhammadan temples are treated as objects of the Nizām's munificence. Even Christian and Parsi churches have to acknowledge his bounty.

There are twelve hundred Sikhs, including cavalry and infantry, commanded by twelve Risāldārs, in the Nizām's army. The Risāldārs reside at Nander each in turn for a whole year to protect the shrine and the Sikhs who have gathered round it from different countries. There are also three or four hundred Sikhs in the State Constabulary.



THE SIKH TEMPLE (HAZUR SAHIB) AT NANDER

put to the sword. The inhabitants of two or three other villages were similarly treated.

On seeing the licence granted to Banda's troops all the robbers of the country flocked to his standard. An outcry everywhere arose, and the people went in large numbers to complain to the governor of Mustafabad—a city five or six miles to the west of Buria—where were two thousand imperial troops under arms and ready for any emergency. These were dispatched with two large guns against Banda, whereupon many of his mercenary recruits deserted him. He encouraged all who remained, and promised them protection and pecuniary assistance. He then pulled forth one of the Guru's arrows, drew a line on the ground with it, and said that no bullet or arrow should cross the demarcation thus made. Upon this his troops rallied and made such a successful defence that the Muhammadans all fled, leaving their cannon behind them. After this victory several of the deserters returned, and rejoined Banda's army. His forces then proceeded to Mustafabad and laid it waste.

Banda's next expedition was against Sadhaura. The imperial troops stationed there came forth to oppose him, but were easily defeated. They fled and took shelter behind their city walls. Banda's forces with great bravery captured the fort, and levelled it with the ground. Then ensued a general massacre of the inhabitants. Banda next marched and laid siege to Samana, a considerable town in the state of Patiala. Here there was a sanguinary battle. The city was sacked, and the male inhabitants put to the sword.

He then proceeded to Sarhind. On the march his troops took supplies forcibly from villagers. Wazir Khan on hearing that Banda was marching against him sent to the viceroy of Lahore for assistance. Banda plundered Ambala on the way. He then marched to Banur where he was encountered

by Wazir Khan's army, which had marched from Sarhind to oppose him. The battle began on the following day. When several of the Muhammadans were slain, Wazir Khan and Banda engaged in single combat. Banda thus addressed him, 'O sinner, thou art the enemy of Guru Gobind Singh. Thou hast shown him no respect, but on the contrary hast put to death his innocent children, and thereby committed a grievous and unpardonable crime, the punishment for which I am now going to deal thee. Thine army and thy country shall be destroyed at my hands.' Upon this Banda struck off his head with one blow of his sword. Then the whole of the Muhammadan army fled followed by the Sikhs, who possessed themselves of their horses, arms, tents, cannon, and other munitions of war, and then advanced in triumph to Sarhind. There they effected a general massacre. The Sikhs captured Suchanand who had instigated the murder of Guru Gobind Singh's children. They put an iron ring in his nose, and passing a rope through it, led him round the streets to beg. At every shop he was shoe-beaten until he died. Such of the inhabitants as were not killed prostrated themselves before the conqueror. He was not disposed to mercy, but gave an order to raze the city to the ground and plough up its site. In the process large treasure was found which materially assisted him in his further career of rapine, bloodshed, and devastation.

Banda then went on an expedition to the east and plundered most of the hill rajas' states. After this he made a pilgrimage to Anandpur, and performed reverent worship at the shrine of Guru Teg Bahadur. He then made pilgrimages to the places hallowed by the visits of Guru Gobind Singh. The Raja of Chamba, in order to conciliate him, sent him a supremely beautiful girl. She had large eyes, her limbs were graceful and delicate, and she is described by the enthusiastic chronicler as the very image of

the goddess of love. Banda on seeing her, parted with his caution, and completely forgot the Guru's injunctions. He dived into the ocean of sensuality, and thought not of the fate that awaited him on the forfeiture of his continence.

Having subjected all the hill chiefs, Banda planned a tour in the Bist Doab, and proceeded to Jalandhar where he killed the Muhammadan male inhabitants. The Muhammadan women were converted to Sikhism, and became wives of the Sikh soldiers by the ceremony of Anand.[1] He thence went into the Manjha and plundered Batala. Thence he marched to Lahore and put its viceroy Aslam Khan and all his principal officers to the sword. He there heard that troops sent by the Emperor Bahadur Shah were marching against him. He proceeded to meet them as far as Ludhiana and defeated them. He thence went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Guru Nanak in the Gurdaspur district, where he met Bhai Ram Kaur, sixth in descent from Bhai Budha. Banda induced him to remain with him, probably with the object of persuading him, in imitation of his pious ancestor, to invest him with the dignity of Guru.

Banda had by this time obtained supreme power from the neighbourhood of Dihli on the south to Lahore on the north. He appointed his own police, levied revenue, and ruled the country. Baba Binod Singh, whom the Guru had sent with him, gave him great assistance in administration. He endeavoured to dissuade him from the Chamba *liaison* and another of a disreputable character which Banda had also contracted. On one occasion when Baba Binod Singh remonstrated in open darbar with him for his departure from ascetic principles and the injunctions of the Guru, an altercation arose of such a violent character that Binod Singh drew his sword and would have cut off his head had not Kahn Singh interposed. Kahn Singh then foretold the

[1] *Panth Parkāsh.*

departure of Banda's glory and his ignominious death.

Banda next paid a visit to the great temple at Amritsar. He gave out that he had been empowered by the Guru to claim succession to the Guruship. The Sikhs then reflected that he did not live according to the rules prescribed for the Khalsa. In order to make trial of him, they put meat before him, at which he, as the result of early prejudice, became horrified. He fell into a passion with the Sikhs who had thus made trial of him, and they in turn grew enraged with him for refusing meat allowed by their religion and for his manifold irregularities. The result was that the Sikhs divided into two factions. Those who rejected Banda were called the Tat Khalsa, or real Sikhs, and those who accepted him, the Bandai Khalsa or followers of Banda. For the Sikh salutation, *Wahguru ji ka Khalsa ! Wahguru ji ki fatah !* he substituted *Fatah Darshan* 'Victory to the sect', an alteration which was deemed apostasy from the orthodox faith.

Another cause of the dissatisfaction of the Sikhs with Banda was that he disregarded a letter of Mata Sundari to the effect that he had now accomplished the mission imposed on him by the Guru, namely, to bring the Governor of Sarhind to justice, and it was time for him to arrest his career of carnage and spoliation. Banda said that as Mata Sundari was only a woman she was not competent to give him advice or orders. Many Sikhs thinking that this was a slight to the Guru's wife, deserted Banda, and from that time his power began rapidly to decline.

When the defeat of the army sent by the Emperor against Banda was heard of in Nander it was attributed to the Emperor's failure to keep his promise to the Guru.

Banda continued to pursue his violent career until Bahadur Shah, himself at the head of a powerful

avenging army, proceeded against him. Banda not deeming his troops sufficient to cope with the imperial host fled to the mountains and took refuge in a fort called Lohgarh. The imperial army besieged him but the wily chief escaped in a desperate sally. A Hindu who remained behind to personate him was sent by the Subadar's orders to be executed in Dihli. Very soon after this the Emperor died in Lahore, and then ensued the usual Oriental scramble for the throne. His eldest son Jahandar Shah, who has been described as a drunken profligate, succeeded, but was murdered by his nephew Farrukh Siyar, son of Bahadur Shah's second son Azim-ul-Shan. While this struggle was in progress, Banda came forth from his hiding-place and again commenced his depredations.

Bayazid Khan, the new viceroy of Sarhind, went forth with his troops to oppose Banda, but was killed while at his prayers by a follower of the outlaw. On this the Emperor Farrukh Siyar sent Abd-ul-Samad Khan, also known as Diler Jang, to arrest Banda's progress. When Diler Jang thought his troops had surrounded Banda, there was no Banda to be seen. He and his followers had again fled and disappeared in the mountains. Diler Jang took up his quarters at Lahore to await the outlaw's reappearance. After a year Banda again emerged from his fastnesses and took possession of Kalanuar and Santokhgarh. He sent letters in all directions inviting the Sikhs to join his standard. In two months he received considerable reinforcements and defeated Sher Muhammad Daim, the general commanding at Ambala. The latter then went to Diler Jang at Lahore to complain of Banda's lawlessness and tyranny and concert more stringent measures for his repression. Diler Jang sent the Ambala general's complaint to the Emperor. Upon this the Emperor ordered Mir Ahmad Khan, the general commanding at Aurangabad, to join his forces with those of Diler Jang and the other

generals in the Panjab and all proceed against Banda. The latter took refuge in Gurdaspur, and strongly entrenched himself. The Muhammadan army besieged him. The Sikhs were reduced to such extremities that they killed for food all animals in their possession. Baba Binod Singh, who had hitherto accompanied Banda, now abandoned him. Banda, when rendered totally helpless, sent a letter under flag of truce to Diler Jang offering to surrender if his life were spared, and his troops treated with consideration. Diler Jang promised to intercede with the Emperor for him, and held out hopes of his pardon. When Banda gave up his arms, he was not allowed an interview with Diler Jang, but placed at once with all his followers under restraint. They were all sent to Dihli with many circumstances of disgrace—Banda himself being put into an iron cage—to be disposed of by the Emperor.

Here English testimony is available. The members of an English mission who went from Calcutta to Dihli in 1715 to petition the Emperor for certain privileges, have left on record that they saw a procession of eight hundred Sikh prisoners marched through Dihli with two thousand bleeding heads borne aloft on poles. The Sikhs vied with one another for precedence in death.

While the executions were in progress, the mother of one of the prisoners, a young man just arrived at manhood, having obtained some influential support, pleaded the cause of her son with great feeling and earnestness before the Emperor. She represented that her son had suffered imprisonment and hardship at the hands of the sect. His property was plundered, and he was made prisoner. While in captivity, he was, without any fault of his own, introduced into the sect, and now stood innocent among those sentenced to death. Farrukh Siyar pitied the woman, and mercifully sent an officer with orders to release the youth. She arrived

with the order of release just as the executioner was standing with his bloody sword upheld over the young man's head. When she showed the imperial order the youth broke out into complaints, saying, 'My mother speaketh falsely: I with heart and soul join my fellow-believers in devotion to the Guru: send me quickly after my companions.' Needless to say his request was cheerfully granted.

Here Baba Kahn Singh and Baba Baz Singh, whom the Guru had sent with Banda, succeeded in effecting their escape. Ghulam Husain Khan, author of the *Siyar ul Mutaakharin*, states that Banda's son was put on his lap, and Banda was obliged to cut his throat in the manner of Muhammadan sacrifice. He did so, not unwillingly, lest the child should afterwards be circumcised and made a Muhammadan.

Muhammad Amin Khan, when he had an interview with Banda, said to him, 'The marks of sense and intelligence are visible on thy countenance: how is it thou hast never thought about the recompense of thy deeds, and that in a short span of life with a dreadful futurity thou hast been guilty of such cruelty and of such detestable actions to Hindus and Musulmans?' He replied, 'In all religions and sects, whenever disobedience and rebellion among mortal men passeth all bounds, the Great Avenger raiseth up a severe man like me for the punishment of their sins and the due reward of their deeds.

When He wisheth to desolate the world,
He placeth dominion in the hands of a tyrant.

'When He desireth to give the tyrant the recompense of his works, He sendeth a powerful man like thee to prevail over him, and to give him his due reward in this world: as thou and I can see.' On this Banda's flesh was torn from his body by red-hot pincers, and he expired under the horrible torture.

During his execution he uttered the following warning to his fellow creatures :—

Who hath not suffered for his acts?
Who hath not reaped what he hath sown?
Forget not that you shall obtain retribution for your deeds.
Wheat springeth from wheat, and barley from barley.[1]

Though such was the fate of Banda, yet Guru Gobind Singh had infused such martial spirit into his Sikhs, that they not long after obtained possession of the Panjab, and put an end to Muhammadan supremacy.

Chapter XXXIII

Mata Sahib Kaur, the Guru's youngest wife, died of grief very soon after her husband. She was cremated at the shrine of Guru Har Krishan in Dihli. When Ajit Singh, the boy adopted by Mata Sundari, the Guru's remaining wife, grew up, she provided him with a wife. He begot a son called Hathi Singh. Ajit Singh imitated the late Guru as much as possible. He used to hold court, call himself a guru, and entertain a retinue. He endeavoured to obtain from Mata Sundari the arms belonging to Guru Har Gobind, which the late Guru had given to Sahib Kaur on her departure from Nander. Ajit Singh believed that if he wore them, every one would hail him as Guru. When he made his demand for the arms he was sharply reproved by Mata Sundari. On this he drew his dagger to kill her, but some friends interposed. Mata Sundari then cursed him, said he should forfeit his faith, and die an untimely death. One day as he was riding in the bazar his herald said to him, 'O guru, behold the Muhammadans praying.' The Muhammadans overheard this, and,

[1] The Persian historian, Khāfi Khān, gives many other details of Banda's career in the Panjāb, but they are not generally accepted by the Sikhs.

believing that he ridiculed their religion, reported to the Emperor that under a Muhammadan administration the Sikhs were mocking the faithful. The Emperor at the instigation of the qazis ordered Ajit Singh to cut off his hair and appear thus humbled before him. If he failed in this, the Emperor reserved to himself the right to punish him as he thought fit. Ajit Singh, fearing death, cut off his hair, and grovelled before the Emperor. Mata Sundari was enraged on hearing of this act of apostasy, and told him never again to show her his face. She drew up a document to the effect that, though she had adopted and cherished Ajit Singh as a son, she now renounced him. She then entrusted Guru Har Gobind's arms to the faithful Sikhs of Dihli, and expressed her desire to live no longer in such an evil and ill-omened city. The Sikhs, however, prevailed on her to alter her determination. Ajit Singh now abandoned by the Sikhs went to beg at Mata Sundari's door. She sent him money, but would never consent to see him.

A Muhammadan faqir on whom Ajit Singh when in good circumstances used to bestow money, one day met him in the Dihli bazar, and asked for alms. Ajit Singh in his poverty could only give him a few copper coins. The faqir was not satisfied, but followed him to his house, and further importuned him. He would not leave but dogged his steps as he went shooting during the afternoon. Ajit Singh complained to his servants of the annoyance the beggar was causing him, whereupon they beat the man so severely that he died. They disposed of his body by throwing it into a well for the purpose of concealment.

The faqir's fate gradually became known, and the Emperor ordered Ajit Singh to be arrested and brought before him. Ajit Singh refused to obey the order, and put himself in a posture of defence. His house was besieged, and his adherents fought bravely

to protect him. He contrived to send his wife and son Hathi Singh, both disguised in soiled clothes, to Mata Sundari. He then succeeded in escaping from his house and concealed himself in a straw stack belonging to Hindus who lived near. The owner of the stack discovered him and on hearing that a proclamation had been issued for his arrest, informed the authorities. Ajit Singh was seized, tied to an elephant's tail, and dragged through the city. At a turning in one of the streets the elephant trod on his head, upon which his brains oozed out.

Mata Sundari, thinking her position unsafe in Dihli on account of having received Ajit Singh's wife and son, put into execution her long-cherished project of abandoning that city and proceeded with her charge to Bhagatgarh. The head man of the place would not allow her, through fear of the Emperor, to remain in his city. She thence went to Mathura, where she was received with great distinction. The governor of the city induced the Raja of Jaipur to grant her the revenue of two villages and also a suitable place of residence. In Mathura Hathi Singh grew up to manhood, adopted his father's style, and maintained a retinue of sixty mounted orderlies. He tried to compose hymns but inspiration failed him. He then abstracted some from the Granth Sahib, and wherever the name Nanak occurred inserted his own. Mata Sundari on being informed of this became very wroth, abandoned Hathi Singh and his mother at Mathura, and returned to Dihli. During the invasion of Ahmad Shah, Hathi Singh fled from Mathura to Burhanpur, where he subsequently died, leaving no male issue.

When Mata Sundari arrived in Dihli she by the kind offices of Raja Ram, the Emperor's minister, obtained possession of her house and property, which had been seized by the Muhammadans after her departure. She spent the remainder of her days there, and died in comparative worldly comfort in

Sambat 1804 (A. D. 1747). Her body was cremated near the shrine of Guru Har Krishan.

It will be remembered that when the Guru evacuated Anandpur, he sent Gulab Rai and Sham Singh with a letter to the Raja of Nahan requesting him to grant them the means of subsistence. The raja gave them two villages. Gulab Rai afterwards purchased Anandpur for sixty thousand rupees from the Kahlur Raja and returned to live there. He caused himself to be worshipped by the Sikhs and carried his unseemly pretensions so far as to actually instal himself in the Guru's seat. Sadhu Gurbakhsh, who had been an attendant on the Guru and had by him been left in charge of Guru Teg Bahadur's shrine, remonstrated against the usurpation, whereupon Gulab Rai became very angry, and addressed him in offensive language. Gurbakhsh then cursed him saying, 'Thou and thy line shall perish!' In a short time Gulab Rai and his two sons died. After that Gulab Rai's widow took the offerings of the Sikhs, and remained in possession of Anandpur. When she was on the point of death she appointed Surjan Singh, Sham Singh's son, now old and experienced, as heir of Anandpur. His descendants still occupy that city, and receive a yearly revenue from the Indian government and the Sikh states.

A Sikh writer called Gurdas, who lived long after the time of Guru Gobind Singh, wrote a War in his praise which the Sikhs appended to the compositions of Bhai Gur Das, and which now appears as the forty-first War. The following pauris are extracted from it :—

Pauri 15

Guru Gobind was manifested as the tenth avatar.

He repeated the name of the Creator who is unseen, eternal, and stainless.

He established the Khalsa, a sect of his own, and gave it great glory.

Wearing long hair he grasped the sword and smote all his enemies.

He put on the kachh of continence and practised arms.

He established the Sikh war-cry and was victorious in mighty battles.

He caused all demon enemies to be surrounded and trampled upon.

Then his endless praise was gradually proclaimed throughout the world.

Thus arose the race of Singhs who wore blue clothes,

Who killed all the hostile Turks, and repeated God's name.

No one could withstand them, so the Turkish leaders decamped :

Rajas, kings, and amirs all became the dust beneath the Singhs' feet.

Great hills trembled when they heard their victorious drums.

There was then great commotion throughout the whole world ; the enemy abandoned their homes,

And perished in the great confusion and trouble that ensued.

There is none so great a destroyer of fear as the true Guru.

He handled and displayed such a sword as none could withstand.

Well done ! well done Gobind Singh ! thou wert at once Guru and disciple !

Pauri 16

By the order of the immortal God the great Guru obtained inspiration.

Then he gradually established the Khalsa, whole-bodied[1] and manly.

Then arose the roaring of the Singhs (lions) which terrified the whole world.

They levelled with the earth the shrines of Hindus and Muhammadans.

[1] *Sābit.* Not circumcised like the Muhammadans, and not cutting their hair or shaving like the Hindus.

They cancelled the Veds, the Purans, the six Hindu systems and the Quran.

They abolished the call to prayer and the prayer-carpet of the Muhammadans and killed the Turkish monarchs.

Temporal and spiritual leaders all hid themselves or became converted to Sikhism.

The Mullas and the Qazis grew weary of reading, but found not God's secret.

Hundreds of thousands of Pandits, Brahmans, and Astrologers had become entangled in worldly affairs.

Worshipping stones and temples they had become exceedingly superstitious.

Both the Hindus and the Muhammadans were altogether engaged in deception.

Consequently a third religion, the Khalsa, arose and became renowned.

The Singhs by the order of Guru Gobind Singh seized the sword and wielded it.

They killed all their enemies and caused the name of the Immortal God to be repeated.

Then God's order was promulgated in the world.

The drum of victory resounded and drowned the cry of sorrow.

The great sagacious Guru established a third sect.

Well done! well done Gobind Singh! thou wert at once Guru and disciple!

COMPOSITIONS OF GURU GOBIND SINGH

In the year A.D. 1734 while in Amritsar Bhai Mani Singh compiled the compositions and translations of Guru Gobind Singh and of the bards who were associated with him. The compilation was subsequently known as the Granth of the tenth Guru, though Mani Singh did not give it that title.[1] We

[1] After Mani Singh's execution the Sikhs took the volume for examination and approval to a village in the Patiāla State called Talwandi Sābo, now known among the Sikhs as Damdama. Damdama was selected for examination of the volume as several learned Sikhs resided there, and that distant village was also deemed a place of safety.

Several intelligent Sikhs were of opinion that the tales and translations in the volume, as at present found, ought not to have been included in it, for many of them are of Hindu origin, others not fit for perusal, and none comparable with the hymns contained in the Ād Granth. The Sikhs therefore maintained that the *Hikāyāt* or Persian tales, and the whole of the *Tria Charitar*, or stories illustrating the deceit of women, should be omitted, and included in a separate volume, which might be read, not for a religious purpose, but for the entertainment and delectation of the public.

While this discussion was in progress, one Mahtāb Singh of Mirānkot arrived from Bīkāner at Damdama. He had vowed to kill one Massa Ranghar, a Muhammadan official, who had obtained possession of the Golden Temple, and who used the place as a theatre for dancing women; and he was on his way to Amritsar to carry out his design. Mahtāb Singh vowed that if he succeeded and returned to Damdama, Mani Singh's Granth should remain in one volume as he had arranged it. If, on the contrary, Massa killed him, the Granth might be arranged according to the wishes of the objectors. Mahtāb Singh slew Massa Ranghar, returned in triumph to Damdama, and Mani Singh's Granth was allowed to remain according to his design.

There are many obvious defects in the arrangement of the tenth Guru's Granth as it stands. For instance, there are several questions put in doharas 201 to 210 of the *Akāl Ustat* to which no answer is given. Chhands 211 to 230 are obviously out of place, and belong to

now proceed to give translations from it of such doctrinal and historical portions as we believe to represent the Guru's own opinions and acts.

JĀP [1]

There is one God, the true, the great, and the bounteous :—

The tenth Guru spoke with his holy mouth [2]—

God hath no quoit [3] or marks, no colour, no caste, no lineage,

No form, no complexion, no outline, no costume ; none can in any way describe Him.

He is immovable, fearless, luminous, and measureless in might ;

He is accounted King of kings, Lord of millions of Indars ;

He is Sovereign of the three worlds, demigods, men, and demons ; the woods and dales declare Him indescribable.

O Lord, who can tell all Thy names ? the wise call Thee *special* names according to Thy deeds.

AKAL USTAT

(Praise of the Immortal)

May we have the protection of the immortal Being ! [4]

---

the second Chandi Charitar ; and the last Chhand of the *Akāl Ustat* is not complete. The Gyān Parbodh too has been left incomplete. There are besides many defects of arrangement.

[1] The Jāpji of Guru Gobind Singh is held by the Sikhs in the same estimation as the Japji of Guru Nānak. The Hindus have a work entitled *Vishnu Sahasar Nām*—Vishnu's thousand names. The Jāpji was composed to supply the Sikhs with a similar number of epithets of the Creator.

[2] This line is Bhāi Mani Singh's composition.

[3] *Chakr.* This word is also applied to depressions in the body noticed for mystical, astrological, or cheiromantic purposes.

[4] The tenth Guru invented new names for God—Akāl (the Immortal), Sarbloh (All-steel), Mahānloh (Great-steel), Sarbkāl (All-death), Mahānkāl (Great-death), Asidhuj, Asiketu, and Kharagketu (having the sword on His banner), Asipāni (sword in His hand), that is, God as the impersonation and source of bravery.

May we have the protection of All-steel !
May we have the protection of All-death !
May we have the protection of All-steel !

I bow to the one primal God

Who extended sea and land, the nether regions, and the firmament.[1]

He is the primal Being, unseen, and immortal ;
His light is manifest in the fourteen worlds.
He is contained in the ant as in the elephant ;
He deemeth the rich and the poor alike ;
He is unequalled, unseen, and eternal ;
He is the Searcher of all hearts ;
He is invisible, indestructible, and without *distinguishing* dress[2] ;
He is without passion, colour, form, or outline ;
He is devoid of caste marks of every kind ;
He is the primal Being, peerless and changeless ;
He hath no enemy, no friend, no father, no mother ;
He is far from all and near all ;
His dwelling is in sea and land, the nether and upper regions.
Boundless is His form, and boundless His voice ;
In the shelter of His feet dwelleth Bhawani[3] ;
Brahma and Vishnu have not found His limits ;
The four-faced Brahma pointeth out that God is indescribable.
He made millions of Indars and Bawans ;[4]
He created and destroyed Brahmas and Shivs.
The fourteen worlds He made as a play,
And again blended them with Himself.
He made endless demons, deities, serpents,
Celestial singers, Yakshas, excellent and beautiful.
He is spoken of in the past, the future, and the present,
And He knoweth the secrets of every heart.

[1] This is the traditional meaning of *mahīal*, but it receives no support from dictionaries. See Pandit Tāra Singh's *Nirnai Sāgar*.
[2] *Anbhekh*. The word also means without form.
[3] Pārbati or Durga, the consort of Shiv.
[4] Bāwan was the dwarf incarnation of Vishnu.

He is not attached to any one love ;
He is contained in the light of all souls ;
He recognizeth all people and all places ;
He is free from death and immortal ;
He is the invisible, imperceptible Being, distinct from all the world.

He is immortal, undecaying, imperishable, and of changeless purpose.

He is the Destroyer and Creator of all ;

He is the Remover of sickness, sorrow, and sin.

He who with single heart meditateth on Him even for a moment

Shall not fall into Death's noose.

Thou art without sorrow, without form, yet beautiful, the King of kings, the Giver of great gifts.

The Preserver of life, the Giver of milk and sons, the Remover of sickness and sorrow, sometimes honourable and inspiring great honour.

Thou art a student of science, an unrivalled incarnation, Thou appearest as a Sidh, Thou art the glory of purity.

Thou art the net[1] of youth, the death of Death, the torment of enemies, the life of friends.

The following ten Sawaiyas, or quatrains, are recited at the administration of the pahul or baptism according to the rites of the tenth Guru :—

I

I have wandered and in their own homes seen crowds of Saravagis, Sudhs [2], Sidhs, Jogis, and Jatis,

Brave demons, demigods feasting on nectar, and crowds of saints of various sects.

[1] This is said to mean—Thou attractest the world by Thy beauty.

[2] Sudhs mean the clean in contradistinction to the Sarāvagis who are reputed to be dirty in their habits.

I have seen the religions of all countries, but none appeared to be that of the Lord of life.

Without a particle of the love and favour of God they are only worth a ratti [1].

II

Emperors before whom strong armed kings used to lowly bow their heads in countless numbers ; [2]

Who possessed proud elephants with golden trappings, incomparable, tall, painted with bright colours ;

Millions of horses which bounded like deer, and were fleeter than the wind—

What mattered it how great those emperors were ? they at last departed barefooted.

III

Though they roamed and conquered all countries beating their various drums ;

Though many beautiful elephants trumpeted loud, and thousands of horses of royal breed neighed for them—

Who can number such kings in the past, the future, and the present ? They cannot be counted—

Yet without worshipping the name of God the Lord of wealth, they went at last to their final home.

IV

Men bathe at places of pilgrimage, exercise mercy, curb their passions, bestow gifts, exercise abstinence, and perform various special ceremonies—

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, and the other books of the Musalmans, the earth and heaven all have I seen ;

Thousands of fasters, Jatis who practised continence, all have I carefully observed ;

[1] The seed of the *Abrus precatorius* (N. O. Leguminosae) used in India as a small weight (see Vol. I, p. 158, n. 1).

[2] Also translated—regardless of their own position.

Yet without worshipping the name of the one God and loving Him even kings are of no account.

V

Trained soldiers, powerful, irresistible, well accoutred with coats of mail crush their enemies;

Filled with high martial spirit they would put mountains to flight, themselves unshaken;

They would shatter their enemies, destroy rebels, crush the pride of furious elephants;

Yet without the favour of God, the Lord of wealth, they should all depart at last and leave the world.

VI

Countless heroes very valiant without hesitation face the edge of the sword,

Subdue countries, crush rebels, and the pride of furious elephants,

Break powerful forts and even without fighting [1] conquer in every direction—

But their efforts avail not; the Lord is the Commander of them all—the suppliants are many while there is but one Giver.

VII

Even the demons, gods, serpents, and ghosts who repeat God's name in the past, future, and present;

All the beings which in sea and land every moment set up God in their hearts,

Shall find their good deeds and glory increase; they shall hear the voices of gratulation and the multitude of their sins shall depart.

The congregations of saints wander happy in the world; all their enemies on beholding them are cowed.

[1] *Subātanhi.* Also translated—at a word, rapidly.

VIII

Lords of men, and elephants, rulers who reign in the three worlds,

Who perform millions of ablutions, make gifts of elephants and other animals, and marry brides at various splendid swayamvars [1]—

They with Brahma, Shiv, Vishnu, and Indar shall at last be entangled and fall into Death's noose ;

But they who touch the feet of the Lord of wealth shall not again resume a body.

IX

What availeth it to sit closing both eyes and meditating like a crane ?

This world is lost, and the next also for those who go about bathing in the seven seas.

They pass their lives in vain, dwelling in the midst of sin.[2]

I speak verily ; hear me all ye people—they who love God have obtained Him.

X

Some worshipping stones put them on their heads, some suspend lingams from their necks.

Some see God in the south, some bow their heads to the west.

Some fools worship idols, others busy themselves with worshipping the dead.

The whole world entangled in false ceremonies hath not found God's secret.

God is not subject to birth or death,

He is acquainted with the excellent fourteen sciences,[3]

[1] Assemblages in ancient times at which young women selected their husbands.

[2] Also translated—sitting in the company of the vicious.

[3] These included all ancient Indian knowledge. Different writers have given different lists of them.

He is without stain and infinite,
He is of unfading brightness and generous,
His form is not quickly recognized,
He is head of the saints of the whole world,
He is the highest object of praise; *by Him* the earth and sun are supported;
He is the treasury of the eighteen supernatural powers,[1]
He is the Dispeller of sorrow in all the worlds,
He is not subject to time, to death, or to karma,
He is versed in all religious ceremonies,
His glory is infrangible and unequalled,
He established all establishment,
He is without sorrow, indivisible, and impenetrable.
Brahma by his four Veds sings His praises,
The Veds speak of Him as indescribable,
Brahma speaks of Him as endless—
His glory is unknowable and unequalled.
Indivisible, immeasurable, and unestablished *by any one*
He made the extension of the world:
He created it with the utmost thought.
His form is endless and infrangible,
His glory is peerless and dazzling,
He is invisible and noble,
He made millions of Indars and kings,
Many Brahmas and Vishnus who meditate on Him,
Many Rams, Krishans, and prophets—
No one is acceptable without devotion.
There are many oceans, mountains great as Bind,[2]
Many fishes, tortoises, and serpents,[3]

[1] There are generally only eight *sidhis* or supernatural powers enumerated—*anuma*, to become so small as to be invisible; *mahima*, to be able to increase one's size indefinitely; *garuwata*, to make oneself heavy; *laghuma*, to make oneself light; *prāpti*, to go wherever one pleases; *wasi karna*, to be able to reduce others to subjection; *ishta*, to obtain glory or regal greatness; *kām*, to be able to satisfy all one's desires. A list of the eighteen supernatural powers may be left to the reader's imagination.

[2] Bindhiāchal, a holy peak of the Himālayas.

[3] The *Sheshnāg* of the Hindus.

Many deities and sons of Brahma,
Many incarnations of Krishan and Vishnu,
Many Indars to sweep before His door,
Many Veds and Brahmas,
Many Rudars[1] and Bawans,
And many unequalled Rams and Krishans.
Many men recite amatory poetry,
Many tell the secrets of the Veds,
Many recite the Shastars and Simritis,
And some read the Purans.
Many perform fire sacrifices,
Many painful penances with bodies reversed,
Many lift their arms in the fashion of the Sanyasis.
Some don the garb of Jogis and abandon the world,
Some perform the niwali feat,
Some practise painful fasting,
Some go on pilgrimages and give boundless alms,
Some are generous in their worldly acts,
Some perform unequalled burnt offerings,
Some obtain regal state and dispense justice,
Some act according to the Shastars and the Simritis,
And some in opposition to the Veds.
Many wander in different countries,
And many remain fixed in one place.
Some pray in water,
Some endure five fires on their bodies,
Some dwell in the forest,
Some perform the endless duties of a family man,
Some are generous in the fashion of kings,
Some are free from sickness and error,
Some perform good and others bad acts,
Some pose as Shaikhs, others as Brahmans,
Some perform the duties of kings in an incomparable manner,
Some are free from bodily and mental suffering,
Some are subject to the service of a special god,
Some are poor, others the sons of kings,

[1] Rudar was the god who wielded the thunder.

And some are the incarnations of Vyas.
Many Brahmas read the Veds,
And many Sheshnags repeat God's name.
Some are Bairagis, others Sanyasis,
And some wander in the guise of Udasis.
Know that all these things are vain,
And that all such religion is fruitless.
Without the support of the One Name
Deem all religious ceremonies as superstition.

God is in the water, God is in the dry land,
God is in the heart, God is in the forest,
God is in the mountain, God is in the cave,
God is in the earth, God is in heaven,
God is here, God is there,
God is in space, God is in time,
God is invisible, God is without a garb,
God is without sin, God is without enmity,
God is deathless, God is uncherished,
God is impenetrable, God is invulnerable.[1]
God is not moved by charms or spells ;
God has His own light, He cannot be moved by incantations.
God is without caste, God is without lineage,
God is without friends, God hath no mother,
God feeleth no physical or mental suffering.
God is without doubt, God hath no karma,
God is invincible, God is fearless,
God is infrangible, God is indissoluble.
God cannot be punished, God is radiant,
God is transcendent, God is inscrutable.

Repeat God's name, establish God's name *in thy heart* :
Do penance unto God, and repeat His name.
Thou, O God, art in the water, Thou art in the dry land,
Thou art in the river, Thou art in the sea,

[1] *Abhed* is often translated inscrutable.

Thou art in the tree, Thou art in its leaves,
Thou art in the earth, Thou art in the firmament.
Thy name is repeated again and again, Thy name is fixed in man's heart.
Thou art space, Thou art time,
Thou art the occupant, Thou art the place,
Thou art unborn, Thou art fearless,
Thou art impalpable, Thou art indestructible,
Thou art continence, Thou art fasting,
Thou art deliverance, Thou art wisdom,
Thou alone art, Thou alone art.

The following is a satire on various penances and austerities practised by Hindu sects in India :—

Swine eat filth ; elephants and donkeys bespatter themselves with dust ; jackals live at places of cremation ;
Owls live in tombs ; deer wander alone in the forest ; trees ever die in silence.
The man who restraineth his seed should only have the credit of the hermaphrodite ; monkeys ever wander barefooted.
How shall the wretch who is subject to a woman and devoted to lust and wrath, be saved without the knowledge of the one God ?

It is known that demons live in the forest, all children on earth drink milk, and serpents live on air.
They who eat grass and renounce the desire of wealth, are no more than calves and oxen.
They who fly in the heavens have only the attribute of birds ; they who engage in meditation resemble cranes, cats, and wolves.
All great gyanis who knew, but asserted not themselves, never allowed such deceit as the above to enter their hearts even by mistake.

They who live in the earth should be called the offspring of worms; they who live in the heavens should be called birds.

They who eat fruit should be called the offspring of monkeys; they who wander unseen should be accounted as ghosts.

They who float on water are like gangeris;[1] they who eat fire like chakors;

They who worship the sun have the attribute of the lotus; they who worship the moon of water-lilies.

The tortoise, the fish, and the shark may all be called Narayan[2]; if you speak of God as Kaulnabh, the lake in which there is a lotus is also Kaulnabh.[3]

If you speak of God as Gopinath, all Gujars are Gopinaths, all cowherds Gopals; if you call God Rikhikesh, that is a name taken by superiors of religious orders.

If you call God Madhav, that is the bumble-bee; Kaniya is the name of the woodpecker; if you speak of God as the Destroyer of Kans, you speak of the myrmidons of Death.

Fools utter names, but know not their meanings, and worship not Him by whom man is protected.

God is the Protector and Destroyer of the world, Compassionate to the poor, Punisher of enemies, ever the Cherisher, and free from Death's noose.

Jogis, wearers of matted hair, celibates, the true, great Brahmacharis who undergo hunger and thirst in their divine meditation,

They who perform the niwali feat, who sacrifice to water, fire, and wind, who hold their heads down, who stand or one leg and never sit,

Men, serpents, deities, and demons find not God's secrets; the Veds and the books of the Musalmans say that God is indescribable.

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[1] Small black flies on Indian rivers.

[2] God who moves in the waters.

[3] One of the names of Vishnu. He was supposed by the Hindus to have a lotus in his navel.

Peacocks skip about dancing, the thunder roareth and the lightning presenteth many phases.[1]

If God be obtained by being cold or hot, there is nothing colder than the moon, nothing hotter than the sun, *if by being a raja God may be obtained*, there is no king equal to Indar who filleth the whole world.

Nowhere can be found a penitent like a Shiv, a reader of the Veds like primal Brahma, or penitents like the sons of Brahma ;

Yet without divine knowledge they are all subject to the noose of Death and ever wander through the cycle of the ages.

One Shiv was born, one died, and one was born again ; there have also been many incarnations of Ram Chandar and Krishan.

How many Brahmas and Vishnus have there been ! how many Veds and Purans ! how many collections of Simritis have been and passed away !

How many preachers and Madars ![2] how many Castors and Polluxes ! how many Ansavatars[3] have succumbed to death !

How many priests and prophets have there been ! they are so many that they cannot be counted ; from dust they sprang and to dust they returned.

Jogis, Jatis, Brahmacharis[4], and very great kings, the shadow of whose umbrellas extended for many miles,

Who wandered subduing kingdoms and crushing the pride of very great kings,

Sovereigns like Mān[5] and lords of the umbrella like

[1] The reference is to dancing and roaring faqīrs.

[2] *Monadi Madār*—Monadi is understood to be the Arabic *munādi*, a proclamation or preaching. Madār was a celebrated Muhammadan saint. If *momin-i-dīn madār* be read, the translation will be—How many orthodox Muhammadans and supporters of the faith !

[3] An incomplete incarnation of Vishnu.

[4] Brahmachāris are young men who preserve continence during their studentship. Manu, the Hindu law-giver, fixes its limit at twenty-five years of age.

[5] Māndhātri, a son miraculously born to Yuvanāshwa of the line of Ikshwāku, and author of a hymn in the Rig Veda.

Dilip,[1] great kings who prided themselves on the strength of their arms,

Proud men like Dara,[2] like the kings of Dihli, and like Durjodhan, having enjoyed the earth in their turn at last were blended with it.

Artillerymen, huntsmen wearing decoy dresses, and they who eat opium bow their heads many times.

What availeth it that men perform prostrations of different kinds to God ? they are like wrestlers practising the exercise of dand.[3]

What availeth it that men lie with their faces turned up ? If they do not heartily bow to the supreme God, they are only as sick men.

How can he who is the slave of *worldly* desires and ever clever in obtaining wealth, obtain the one Lord of the world without faith in Him ?

He into whose ear an earwig hath entered shaketh his head ; *he who hath lost* a friend or son beateth his head in mourning.

For grazing on akk, eating fruits and flowers, and ever wandering in the forests, there is no animal like a goat.

What if a sheep rub its head against trees *and thus take off its hair* ? as for eating earth, call the leech and ask it.

How can he who is a slave to worldly desires and addicted to lust and wrath, find God without faith ?

The peacocks dance, the frogs croak, and the clouds ever thunder ;

The tree ever standeth on one leg in the forest ; *as for those who take not life*, the Saravagi bloweth on the ground before putting his feet on it ;

[1] He belonged to the solar race, and was ancestor of Rām Chandar.
[2] Darius.
[3] An oriental exercise in which a man first lies down flat on the ground, then leans on his hands so as to lift his body, and again depresses it so as almost to touch the ground with his chest.

The stones through several ages remain in one place ; the ravens and the kites travel from country to country.

How can the wretch who is without divine knowledge and who is never absorbed in the great Benefactor, be saved without faith in Him ?

Like an actor man sometimes poseth as a Jogi or Bairagi ; sometimes he assumeth the guise of a Sanyasi.

Sometimes he appeareth to live on air, sometimes he sitteth in an attitude of contemplation, sometimes in his infatuation for pelf he singeth many praises of men.

Sometimes he is a Brahmachari, sometimes he produceth a garden in his hand, sometimes he holdeth a *fakir*'s staff and deceiveth men's senses.

He who is subject to worldly desires danceth with gestures ; but being devoid of divine knowledge, how shall he obtain heaven ?

In the cold season the jackal barketh five times, and the elephant and the donkey utter various cries.

What availeth it to be cut in twain by the saw at Banaras? thieves cut men in pieces and kill them with axes.

What availeth it that a fool hath put a halter round his neck and drowned himself in the Ganges ? Thags put men to death by putting halters round their necks.

Without meditation on divine knowledge fools are drowned in hell's river ; and without faith how can there be any such meditation ?

If any one were to obtain by penance the Lord who suffereth not pain, the wounded man suffereth pain of many kinds.

If any one were by repeating God's name to obtain God who cannot be obtained by lip-worship [1], the warbler ever uttereth 'Tu hi ! tu hi !'

If any one were to obtain God by flying in the heavens, the bird called anal wandereth in the firmament.

[1] *Ajāp Dev*, also translated—God who repeats no name.

If salvation be obtained by burning oneself in the fire, why should not the Sati and also the serpent which liveth in hell be saved ? [1]

The following is a homily on the equality of men and on the Hindu and Muhammadan forms of worship :—

One man by shaving his head is accepted as a Sanyasi, another as a Jogi or a Brahmachari, a third as a Jati.

Some men are Hindus and others Musalmans ; among the latter are Rafazis,[2] Imams, and Shafais—know that all men are of the same caste.

Karta (the Creator) and Karim (the Beneficent) are the same, Razak (the Provider) and Rahim (the Merciful) are the same ; let no man even by mistake suppose there is a difference.[3]

Worship the one God who is the one divine Guru for all ; know that His Form is one, and that He is the one light diffused in all.

The temple and the mosque are the same ; the Hindu worship and the Musalman prayer are the same ; all men are the same ; it is through error they appear different.

Deities, demons, Yakshas, heavenly singers, Musalmans, and Hindus adopt the customary dress of their different countries.

All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same build,[4] a compound of earth, air, fire, and water.

Allah and Abhekh are the same ; the Purans and the

[1] The Guru rejects the belief that a widow who cremates herself with her husband's corpse obtains salvation. The second part of the line may also be translated—If salvation were obtained by dwelling beneath the earth, the snake which dwelleth in the nether regions should also be saved.

[2] Certain Shiāhs or followers of Ali who renounced their allegiance to Zaid, grandson of Husain.

[3] There is not one God for the Hindus and another for the Musalmāns.

[4] *Bān*, also translated—customs, habits.

Quran are the same; they are all alike; it is the one God who created all.

The following gives the Sikh conception of the manner in which souls emanated from God and are again absorbed in Him :—

As from one fire millions of sparks arise; though rising separately, they unite again in the fire;

As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air, and on filling it again blend with the dust;

As in one stream millions of waves are produced; the waves being made of water all become water;

So from God's form non-sentient and sentient things[1] are manifested, and, springing from Him, shall all be united in Him again.

How many tortoises and fishes and how many eaters of them! how many excellent young animals become strong-winged and fly!

How many *birds of prey* in the firmament eat the excellent birds! and how many animals eat and digest *the birds of prey* when they see them!

What mattereth it whether things live in water or land, or fly in the firmament? God made them and will destroy them all.

As light blendeth with darkness and darkness with light, so all things have sprung from God and shall be united in Him.

How many go about howling! how many die weeping! how many are drowned in the water! how many are burnt in the fire!

How many dwell by the Ganges! how many in Madina and Makka! how many wander as anchorets!

How many undergo the pain of being cut by the saw! how many of burying themselves in the earth! how many of being impaled.

[1] *Abhūtbhūt*, also translated—incorporeal and corporeal beings.

How many fly in the firmament! how many dwell in water! but they shall all be burnt in the fire[1] for want of divine knowledge.

The demigods have grown weary searching for God; the archdemons have grown weary striving with Him; the wise have grown weary exercising their wisdom; they who repeat His name have grown weary of watching.

Men have grown weary of grinding and applying sandal to themselves; they have grown weary of applying excellent atar of roses; they have grown weary of worshipping stones and offering them pudding.

They have grown weary of visiting cemeteries and Jogis' places of burial, they have grown weary of smearing walls and of being marked with the brand *of idols*.[2]

The celestial musicians have grown weary of singing; all the Kinnars have grown weary of their penance, *but none of them hath found God.*

The following is Guru Gobind Singh's conception of the divinity:—

God is without passion, without colour, without form, without outline;

He is without worldly love, without anger, without enmity, without jealousy;

He is without karma, without error, without birth, and without caste;

He hath no friend, no enemy, no father, no mother;

He hath no worldly love, no house, no desires, no home;

He hath no son, no friend, no enemy, no wife;

He is invisible, without distinguishing dress, and unborn;

He is ever the Bestower of supernatural power and wisdom; He is of size beyond measure.

His form and outline cannot be known,

Nor where He dwelleth, nor in what disguises He wandereth,

[1] *Jak=zakka* (ﺯﮎ). The gyānis translate obstinacy.

[2] In Dwāraka men are branded with a hot iron bearing the ensigns of Vishnu.

Nor what His name is, nor what He is called.
How shall I describe Him ? He cannot be described.
He hath no disease, or sorrow, or worldly love, or mother,
No karma, no superstition, no birth, no caste ;
He hath no jealousy, no garb, and is unborn.
I bow to Him as one ! I bow to Him as one !

He is beyond all things, and from the beginning the Dispenser of wisdom.

He is indivisible, indestructible, primal, peerless, and imperishable.

He hath no caste, or lineage, or form, or colour.

I bow to the primal and infrangible One.

How many millions of worms like Krishan
He created, built, fashioned, again destroyed, and created !
He is unfathomable, fearless, primal, unrivalled, imperishable.

He is beyond all things, from the beginning, and perfect is His splendour.

He feeleth nor mental nor bodily pain : He is unfathomable.

His glory is infrangible ; He is from the beginning, and His majesty is indestructible.

He hath no birth, no death, no caste, no pain.

He is infrangible, radiant, unamercible,[1] impossible to be controlled ;

He hath no worldly love, no home ; He hath affection for men and is His own master.

He is powerful, cannot be anywhere contained, radiant, the Torturer of enemies.

He cannot be depicted in the past, the present, or the future.

He is not rich or poor ; He hath no form or outline.

He feeleth not covetousness or mental anxiety ; He is not formed out of the elements ; He belongeth to no sect.

He hath no enemy, no friend, no worldly love, no home.

[1] He is not liable to be fined like mortals as a punishment.

He is eternal and ever contained in all things ; He beareth love to all.

He hath no lust, no wrath, no avarice, no worldly love ;

He is unborn, indestructible, primal, peerless, invisible ;

He is not subject to birth or death ; He hath no caste, no pain ;

He hath no sickness, no sorrow ; He is fearless, and without affliction.[1]

He is impenetrable, indivisible, without karma, and without death.

He cannot be destroyed or defamed ; He is bright and without a cherisher ;

He hath no father, no mother, no caste, no body ;

He hath no worldly love, no home, no doubt, no fear ;

He hath no form, there is no king over Him, He hath no body, no acts *attach to Him* ;

He hath no fear ; He cannot be killed or pierced ; He hath no doubts.

He is eternal, ever perfect, and of size beyond measure.

I bow to Him as one ! I bow to Him as one !

His glory is inexpressible ; He is from the beginning,

He is unassociated, imperishable, imperceptible, and unestablished.

I bow to Him as one ! I bow to Him as one !

He hath no worldly love, no home, no grief, no relation.

He is afar off, pure, undefiled, none can behold Him.

He hath no caste, no lineage, no friend, no minister.

I bow to the one independent Being ! I bow to the one independent Being !

He hath no religion, no superstition, no shame, no relation,

No armour, no shield, no karma, no fear,

[1] *Bikhād* ; in modern Panjābi this word means a quarrel.

No enemy, no friends, no son.
I bow to the primal Being ; I bow to the primal Being.

The bodies of some undergo cold, heat, and rain,
Some sit in one posture for an age,
Some make efforts to study the science of Jog.
Men strive but even then find not God's limits.
Some with their arms raised wander in different countries ;
Some scorch themselves between the sun and surrounding fires ;
Some recite the Simritis, the Shastars, the Veds ;
Some expound amorous poetry, others the books of the Muhammadans ;
Some perform fire sacrifice, some live on air ;
Some millions eat carrion ;
Some consume vegetables, some milk, some leaves ;
But even so God becometh not manifest unto them.

The following sawaiyas also are sometimes read at the administration of the pahul.

I

God ever cherisheth the poor, saveth saints, and destroyeth enemies.
Birds, beasts, mountains, snakes, and kings—all he ever cherisheth.
He cherisheth animals in sea and land ; he considereth not their evil acts.
Compassionate to the poor, an ocean of mercy, He beholdeth man's sins, but wearieth not of giving.

II

He destroyeth misery and sin ; He crusheth an army of evil men in a moment ;
He breaketh those unbreakable by *human power* ; he smiteth the very valiant, but cherisheth love for those who truly love Him.
Vishnu, the lord of Lakshmi, cannot find His limit ; the

Veds and the books of the Musalmans cannot utter His secret.

The Beneficent One ever beholdeth men's secrets; yet He becometh not angry, and withholdeth not their daily bread.

III

He made worms, moths, deer, serpents, the past, the future, and the present.

The demigods and demons were ruined through their pride; they knew not God's secret, and were led astray by error.

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, and other Muhammadan books have grown weary of *taking God's* account, but they have not found it.

Without the light of true love hath any one obtained the honour of finding God?

IV

He is primal, endless, unfathomable, without enmity, and fearless in the past, future, and present.

He is without end, One out of many, without blemish, sin, or stain, and indestructible.

He is the Creator and Destroyer of worlds; He supporteth life on sea and land.

Compassionate to the poor, a mine of mercy, beautiful is the holy Lord of wealth.

V

He hath not lust, or wrath, or covetousness, or worldly love, or sickness, or sorrow, or enjoyment, or fear.

He is without a body; He beareth love to all, yet is He devoid of sensual love; He is homeless and indestructible.

To those who know Him He giveth; to those who know Him not He also giveth; He giveth to the earth; He giveth to the heavens.[1]

O man, why waverest thou? the beautiful and holy Lord of wealth will care for thee.

[1] *Zamān* is here understood to be for *āsmān*.

VI

He preserveth men in many ways—from sickness, from sorrow, from water, and from sprites.

When enemies aim blows at us, none of them may reach our bodies,

For He holdeth out His hand to protect us and hinder the army of sin from approaching us.

What else need I say to thee, O man; God protecteth thee with the screen of the womb.

VII

The Yakshas, serpents, demons, demigods, all meditate on Thee, the Inscrutable One.

On earth, in heaven, and in the nether regions of hell [1], Yakshas, serpents, all bow their heads unto Thee;

But they cannot find the limit of Thy glory; the Veds describe Thee as indescribable.

All the demigods who searched for Thee have grown weary of their search; they have not found Thee, O God.

VIII

Beings like Narad, Brahma, Rumna [2] the Rikhi all combine to sing Thy praises.

The Veds and the books of the Musalmans have not found Thy secret; all have grown weary *in their search*: God hath not been found by any one.

Shiv, the lord of Uma,[3] cannot find Thy limit. The Sidhs with their spiritual leaders and the sons of Brahma meditate on Thee.

O men, meditate in your hearts on Him whose immeasurable power is diffused throughout the whole world.

IX

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, and other Musalman

[1] There are said to be seven hells. Patāl is the seventh and lowest.
[2] Also known as Lomash, who was remarkable for his long life.
[3] One of the names of Pārbati.

books, have not found His secret ; all kings [1] have grown sore weary *searching for it.*

They could not find the secret of the Inscrutable ; after great travail they proclaimed Him invulnerable.

Thou, O Lord, hast no passion, no form, no outline, no colour, no relation, no sorrow, no companion.

Thou wast in the beginning and yet hadst no beginning ; Thou art unfathomable, without distinguishing dress,[2] and without jealousy : he who repeateth Thy name shall save his relations.

X

Men have performed millions of ablutions at places of pilgrimage ; they have made many offerings and endured great fasts.

Putting on the dress of great penitents and wearing long hair, they have wandered in many countries, but they have not found the Beloved God.

They have made millions of attitudes of contemplation and prostrations, many offerings of their limbs to tutelary divinities,[3] and blackened their faces ;

But without meditating on the name of the Compassionate to the poor, the Deathless, they have at last gone to Death's abode.

Thou art the Discharger of arms, the Holder of the earth and the umbrella, the Betrayer of kings, the great Tormentor of enemies ;

The Bestower of gifts, the great Enhancer of honour, the Giver of a resting-place, the Cutter of Death's noose ;

Conqueror in the fight, Remover of obstacles, great Bestower of wisdom, Thou art honoured even among the most honoured.

Thou art learned in divine knowledge ; Thou art the great Giver of wisdom, the Destroyer of the god of death.

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[1] Such as Harischandar, and others.

[2] Without the distinguishing dress of a religious sect.

[3] *Bahu niās kare*, also translated—(*a*) made many renunciations, (*b*) made many efforts.

The dwellers of the East know not Thy limit, the goddess Hingula [1] who dwelleth in the Himalayas meditateth on Thee; the Gurdezis of Ghor [2] sing the praises of Thy name.

The Jogis practise Jog to be united with Thee; how many suspend their breath *to obtain Thee.* The Arabs of Arabia worship Thy name.

The Firangis of France worship Thee, the Kandharis and Qureshis know Thee, the residents of the West recognize Thee as the object of their love.

The Marathas, the Magadhis [3] heartily do Thee penance, the natives of Tilang [4] fix Thee in their hearts, and recognize Thee as the abode of religion.

Like milk in Chirawadh, like buttermilk in Chhatraner, like moonlight on the banks of the Jamna,

Like a female swan in Turkey of the Shiahs, like a diamond in Husainabad, like the stream of the Ganges when it blendeth with the seven seas,

Like quicksilver in Palaugarh, like silver in Rampur, like saltpetre in Surangabad,

Like the champa flower in Chanderikot, like moonlight in Chandagarh, Thy praise flourisheth like the malati flower.[5]

Like crystal in Kailas, Kamaungarh, and Kashipur, like a mirror in Surangabad,

Like snow in the Himalayas, like Shiv's necklace [6] in Halbaner, like a swan in Hajipur on seeing which the heart is fascinated;

Like white sandal in Champawati, like the moon in Chandragir, like moonlight in Chandagarh,

Like the Ganges on Shiv's head, like cranes in Bulandabad shineth the light of Thy praises.

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[1] Hingula is another of the names of Pārbati or Durga.
[2] A mountainous tract of Afghānistān south-east of Harāt.
[3] Natives of the country of Magadha, now South Bihār.
[4] The Telegu country on the east coast of India between Urīsa (Orissa) and Madrās.
[5] A kind of jasmin with fragrant white blossoms.
[6] Har hār. Shiv was believed to wear a white snake as a necklace.

The Persians, the English, the double-faced men of France,
the mirdang [1]—players of Makran sing Thy praises.
The inhabitants of Bhakhar, of Kandhar, and of Ghor,
the Gakhars, the Gurdezis, and those who live on air meditate on Thy name.
In the east in Palau, in Kamrup, and Kamaun, wherever man goeth there Thou presidest.
Thy glory is perfect; written and spoken incantations cannot affect Thee, O Lord, and none can find the limit of Thy praises.

God is peerless, imperishable; His throne is immovable;
He is peerless, endless; His praise is unrivalled;
He is indestructible and the invisible Lord.
He is everywhere king; He blossometh in the forests and the glades.
His splendour is like the spring everywhere diffused.
The Great One pervadeth the woods and glades, birds and quadrupeds.
He everywhere blossometh, He is beautiful and wise;
He blossometh like flowers, and glittereth like the peacock.
Cupid on recognizing Him waveth a chauri over Him.
His power is perfect, He is the Bestower of food, the Merciful,
The Treasury of favour, the Perfect, the Bounteous.
Wherever we look there appeareth His splendour.
He is free from anger and a treasury of favour.
He everywhere blossometh; He is beautiful and wise.
He is the great king of the woods and glades, of sea and land.
His splendour appeareth everywhere; He is the treasury of favour.
His light dazzleth, His glory is perfect.
The sky and the earth repeat His name.
Over the seven heavens and the seven hells
His net of karma is spread unseen.

[1] A small drum or tambourine.

Vichitar Natak

I

Guru Gobind Singh addresses God as a sword to destroy his enemies.

I bow with love and devotion to the Holy Sword.
Assist me that I may complete this work.

Thou art the Subduer of countries, the Destroyer of the armies of the wicked, in the battle-field Thou greatly adornest the brave.

Thine arm is infrangible, Thy brightness refulgent, Thy radiance and splendour dazzle like the sun.

Thou bestowest happiness on the good, Thou terrifiest the evil, Thou scatterest sinners, I seek Thy protection.

Hail! hail to the Creator of the world, the Saviour of creation, my Cherisher, hail to Thee, O Sword!

I bow to Him who holdeth the arrow in His hand; I bow to the Fearless One;

I bow to the God of gods who is in the present and the future.

I bow to the Scimitar, the two-edged Sword, the Falchion, and the Dagger.

Thou, O God, hast ever one form; Thou art ever unchangeable.

I bow to the Holder of the mace
Who diffused light through the fourteen worlds.
I bow to the Arrow and the Musket,
I bow to the Sword, spotless, fearless, and unbreakable;
I bow to the powerful Mace and Lance
To which nothing is equal.
I bow to Him who holdeth the discus,
Who is not made of the elements and who is terrible.
I bow to Him with the strong teeth;
I bow to Him who is supremely powerful,
I bow to the Arrow and the Cannon

Which destroy the enemy.
I bow to the Sword and the Rapier
Which destroy the evil.
I bow to all weapons called Shastar (which may be held).
I bow to all weapons called Astar (which may be hurled or discharged).

Thou turnest men like me from blades of grass into mountains; than Thou there is none other cherisher of the poor.

O God, do Thou Thyself pardon mine errors; there is none who hath erred like me.

The houses of those who have served Thee are all seen filled with wealth.

In this Kal age and at all times there is great confidence in the powerful arm of the Sword,

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Which in one moment destroyed millions of demons like Sumbh and Nisumbh;[1]

Which in an instant subdued demons such as Dhumar-lochan, Chand, Mund, and Mahikh;

Which in a trice repelled demons such as Chamar Ran-chichhar and Raktichhan—

What careth Thy slave since he hath found a good Lord like Thee?

Which crushed millions like Mund, Madhu, Kitabh, Mur, and Agh;

They who never sought shelter in the battle-field and who retreated not even two paces when blows were dealt around them,

The demons who could not be drowned in the sea, and who could not be burnt by fiery arrows,

On beholding thy flash, O Sword, cast aside shame and fled.

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[1] See that part of the *Mārkandeya Purān* which treats of the exploits of Chandi. The names of the demons mentioned in these quatrains will be found there.

Thou in a moment didst destroy such heroes as Rawan, Maharawan [1], Kumbhkaran [2],

Meghnad, and Akampan [3], in waging war with whom even Death grew wearied—

Kumbh, Akumbh, who having conquered the whole world washed their arms in the seven seas.[4]

They who were invulnerable and huge were all wounded and killed by the sword in the hand of God.

If any one flee to save himself from the Destroyer, say in what direction shall he flee.

Can man run away from God who stoppeth him with a drawn sword thundering and brandishing it ?

No contrivance hath been made by which man may escape from the wound God inflicteth.

Why, O fool, seekest thou not cheerfully the asylum of Him from whom thou canst not escape ?

Thou hast millions of times repeated the names of Krishan and Vishnu, and fully meditated on Ram Chandar and the Prophet ;

Thou hast repeated Brahma's name and established Shiv in thy heart, but none of them will save thee.

Thou hast performed millions of penances for millions of days, but none of them will avail thee a kauri.

Incantations to obtain thy desires will not be worth thee half a paisa ; none of them will save thee from the stroke of Death.

Why performest thou false penance to the gods ? it will not avail thee a kauri.

How can they save thee when they cannot protect themselves from the stroke of Death ?

They will suspend thee in the fiery pit of terrible wrath as they are suspended themselves.

[1] A first cousin of Rāwan. [2] Rāwan's brother.
[3] Rāwan's sons.
[4] They never again expected to find an adversary.

Think, think even to-day in thy heart, O fool, without the favour of God nothing can avail thee.

It is not by the practice of perpetual silence, nor by the *ostensible* relinquishment of pride, nor by the adoption of a religious dress, nor by shaving the head,

Nor by wearing a wooden necklace, nor by twisting matted hair round the head that God is found.

I speak the truth, hear it attentively—without entering the protection of the Compassionate to the poor

And loving Him can God be found ? the Merciful One is not pleased with circumcision.

Were I to make all the islands my paper, and the seven seas my ink ;

Were I to cut down all trees, and turn them into pens for writing ;

Were I to make Saraswati dictate for millions of ages ; were I to write with the hand of Ganesh,

O Thou who holdest the destroying sword, I could not please Thee even a little without offering Thee homage.

II

Thy greatness is endless and boundless ;
No one hath found its limits.
Thou art God of gods, King of kings,
Compassionate to poor, and Cherisher of the lowly.

The dumb would recite the six Shastars, cripples would climb mountains,

The blind would see, and the deaf hear, if God would only show favour.

How can my feeble intellect, O God,
Describe Thy greatness ?
I cannot utter Thy praises,
Do Thou correct this work :

How far can this worm speak ?
It is only Thou, O God, who knowest Thine own praises.
As a son knoweth not the time of his father's birth,
How can I tell Thy secret ?
Thy greatness becometh Thee ;
It cannot be described by others.
Thou knowest Thine own works, O God.
How shall high or low describe Thee ?
Sheshnag whom Thou didst create with a thousand heads,
Whom two thousand tongues [1] adorn,
Until now is uttering Thy boundless names ;
Yet even still he cannot find their limit.
How far can any one describe Thy works ?
The intellect is perplexed in trying to understand them.
Thy subtile form cannot be described ;
I shall describe Thy great form.
When I have obtained Thy love and service,
Then shall I put aside all other narratives and describe Thee.

I shall now relate my own history,
And how the Sodhi family originated.

At first when God extended Himself,
The world was created by Him.
The man who doeth good deeds
Is called a demigod in the world ;
He who doeth bad deeds in the world
Is styled a demon.

Kalsain was the first king ;
His strength and form were unsurpassed, incomparable, and unrivalled.
Kalket was the second king ;
Krurbaras was appointed the third king in the world ;
Kaldhuj was the fourth king who graced *sovereignty*.
In this line Raghu was born,
From whom the Raghu race was descended.

[1] It is written in Hindu books that Sheshnag has two tongues in each head.

From them ân excellent son Aj was born,
A great charioteer and archer.
When he assumed the garb of a Jogi,
He bestowed his empire and throne on Dasarath,
Who also became a great archer.
He felt desire and married three wives.
His first son was the prince Ram,
The *second* Bharat, the *third* Lachhman, and the fourth Shatrughan.
They ruled for a long time ;
They then died and went to heaven.
Sita's sons, *Lahu* [1] *and Kushu*, afterwards both became kings,
And graced kingdoms and thrones.
On their marriage with the daughters of the king of the Panjab,
They performed various sacrifices.
They built there two cities,
One Kasur, the second Lahaur (Lahore).
Both became very famous.
Ceylon and Amrawati, *the city of Indar*, became ashamed on beholding them.
Kushu and Lahu reigned for a long time,
But were at length caught in the noose of Death.
Their sons and grandsons
Also ruled in this world.
How far shall I tell their history ?
I cannot even recount their names.

It is related that Kalket [2] and Kalrai [3]
Had innumerable sons in their homes.
Kalket possessed peerless strength,
And expelled Kalrai from the city.
He fled to the Sanaudh [4] country
Where he married a king's daughter.

[1] Lav in the *Rāmāyan*.
[2] Descended from Kushu. [3] Descended from Lahu.
[4] Near Banāras. Its inhabitants, the Sanaudhis, were afterwards called Sodhis.

The son born in his house of that marriage
He named Sodhi Rai.
The Sodhi race began from that time.
It was made by the supremely pure Creator.
The sons and grandsons who sprang *from Sodhi Rai*
Were all called Sodhis in this world.
They became very distinguished among men,
And their wealth increased day by day.
They exercised independent sway
And conquered the kings of many countries.
They enforced religion everywhere,
Caused umbrellas to wave over their heads,
And on many occasions performed sacrifices at royal coronations.
Afterwards dissension arose among them,
And no holy man could arrest its progress.
Heroes and invincible *warriors* went about caparisoned,
Took *arms* and went to fight in the field of battle.
For wealth and land ancient is the struggle,[1]
To compass which men *willingly* die.
Worldly love and pride have extended quarrels ;
Lust and wrath have conquered the whole world.

Nobody can compute the time
When enmity, dissension, and pride were diffused.
In this world their basis is greed,
By the desire for which every one killeth himself.

III

The Sodhis returned to the Panjab and waged war with the descendants of Kushu who had been left behind. The descendants of Kushu being defeated fled to Banaras, where they became readers of the Veds.

IV

Those of the expelled descendants of Kushu who read the Veds were called Bedis.

[1] Compare the Hindustāni proverb—*zan*, *zamīn*, *zar*, *tinen jhagre ka ghar* ' Women, land, and money are the sources of strife among men.'

They carefully attended to their religious duties.
The king of the Panjab dispatched them a conciliatory letter
To forget the enmity that prevailed among them.
The raja's messenger arrived in Banaras,
And explained the contents of the missive to all the Bedis.
Upon this all the readers of the Veds proceeded to the Panjab,
And on their arrival made obeisance to the king.
He caused them to recite the Veds.
While all his brethren were seated near him in the assembly,
They recited the Sam Ved, the Yajur Ved,
Then the Rig Ved, making gesticulations with their hands,
And *finally* the Atharav Ved.
The raja was pleased
And gave them all his possessions.
He elected to live in the forest
To remove his great sins.
On giving them his kingdom
He assumed the garb of a Rikhi.
The people tried to restrain him,
But he dismissed all regret,
And, relinquishing wealth and place,
Became absorbed in God's love.

The Bedi chief was pleased on obtaining the kingdom,
And in *the joy of* his heart blessed the Sodhi king, saying,
'When I come in the Kal age under the name of Nanak,
I will make thee worthy of worship in the world, and thou shalt attain the highest dignity.

Thou hast heard the three Veds from us,
On hearing the fourth Ved thou gavest thy territory.
Having assumed three births [1],

[1] When I have become Guru Nānak, Guru Angad, and Guru Amar Dās.

In my fourth I will make thee Guru.' [1]
On the one hand the Sodhi king went to the forest,
On the other the Bedi king was happy in his sovereignty.
How far shall I amplify this story ?
I very much fear to swell my book.

V

Afterwards again quarrels increased *among the Bedis*,
Which no one could adjust.
It was the will of God
That sovereignty should pass from their family.

Only twenty villages remained to the Bedis,
Which they began to till.
A long time passed in that way
Until the epoch for the birth of Nanak arrived.

Nanak Rai, born in the line of those Bedis,
Conferred happiness on all his disciples, and assisted them in this world and the next.

He established religion in the Kal age,
And showed the way unto all holy men.
Sin never troubleth those
Who follow in his footsteps.
God removeth all suffering and sin
From those who embrace his religion :
Pain and hunger never annoy them,
And they never fall into Death's noose.
Nanak assumed the body of Angad,
And made his religion current in the world.
Afterwards *Nanak* was called Amar Das,
As one lamp is lit from another.
When the time for the fulfilment of the blessing came,
Then Ram Das *Sodhi* became Guru.
Amar Das gave him the Guruship according to the ancient blessing,

[1] The reference is to Guru Rām Dās.

And took the road to paradise himself.
The holy Nanak was revered as Angad,
Angad was recognized as Amar Das,
And Amar Das became Ram Das.
The pious saw this, but not the fools,
Who thought them all distinct ;
But some rare person recognized that they were all one.
They who understood this obtained perfection—
Without understanding perfection cannot be obtained.
When Ram Das was blended with God,
He gave the Guruship to Arjan.
When Arjan was going to God's city
He appointed Har Gobind in his place.
When Har Gobind was going to God's city,
He seated Har Rai in his place.
Har Krishan his son afterwards became Guru.
After him came Teg Bahadur,
Who protected the frontal marks and sacrificial threads *of the Hindus*,
And displayed great bravery in the Kal age.
When he put an end to his life for the sake of holy men,
He gave his head but uttered not a groan.
He suffered martyrdom for the sake of his religion ;
He gave his head but swerved not from his determination.[1]
God's people would be ashamed
To perform the tricks of mountebanks and cheats.[2]

Having broken his potsherd on the head [3] of the King of Dihli, he departed to paradise.
None came *into the world* who performed such deeds as he.

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[1] *Sirar.* If this is a Panjābi word, its meaning is as we have given. Among the Sikhs, however, there is current what purports to be the Persian original of the line, as spoken by Guru Teg Bahādur himself on the eve of his execution—

سر دادم مگر سرِ خدا نہ دادم

which is generally translated—I gave my head but not God's secret.

[2] That is, Guru Teg Bahādur might have performed a miracle and saved himself, but he scorned to do so.

[3] Having made the King of Dihli responsible for his death.

At his departure there was mourning in this world ;
There was grief through the world, but joy in paradise.

VI

Guru Gobind Singh now speaks regarding himṣelf:—

I shall now tell my own history,
How God brought me into the world as I was performing penance
On the mountain of Hem Kunt,[1]
Where the seven peaks are conspicuous—
The place is called the Sapt Shring [2]—
Where King Pandu practised Jog.
There I performed very great austerities
And worshipped Great-death.
I performed such penance
That I became blended with God.
My father and mother had also worshipped the Unseen One,
And strove in many ways to unite themselves with Him.
The Supreme Guru was pleased
With their devotion to Him.
When God gave me the order
I assumed birth in this Kal age.
I did not desire to come,
As my attention was fixed on God's feet.
God remonstrated earnestly with me,
And sent me into this world with the following orders :—
'When I created this world
I first made the demons, who became enemies and oppressors.
They became intoxicated with the strength of their arms,
And ceased to worship Me, the Supreme Being.
I became angry and at once destroyed them.
In their places I established the gods :

[1] In Sanskrit Hemakuta, the golden peak, a chain of mountains between the Himālayas and Mount Meru.
[2] Meaning seven horns.

They also busied themselves with *receiving* sacrifices and worship,
And called themselves supreme beings.
Mahadev called himself the imperishable God.
Vishnu too declared himself to be *God* ;
Brahma called himself the supreme Brahm,
And nobody thought Me to be God.
Then I made the eight Sakhis [1]
Who were appointed to keep watch over creatures.
They told people to worship them,
And said, " There is no God but us."
They who did not recognize the Primal Essence,
Worshipped them as God.
How many worshipped the sun and moon !
How many made burnt offerings ! how many worshipped the wind !
Some recognized a stone as God.
How many bathed in the water according to Shastrik rites!
How many, recognizing Dharmraj as their *supreme* judge,
Performed religious ceremonies through fear !
They whom I appointed to watch over creatures,
On coming into this world called themselves God.
They altogether forgot My orders,
And became absorbed each in his own praise.
When they did not recognize Me,
Then I created men.
They too fell under the influence of pride,
And made gods out of stones.
Then I created the Sidhs and the Sadhs,
But they too found not the Supreme Being.
Whoever was clever in the world
Established his own sect,
And no one found the Creator.
Enmity, contention, and pride increased.
Men began to burn trunk and leaves in their own fire,[2]

[1] These are believed to be the Dikpāls or regents of the eight points of the compass.

[2] An Indian idiom for anarchy. Big and little perished by their own contentions.

And none of them went My way.
They who obtained a little spiritual power
Struck out their own way.
None of them recognized the Supreme Being,
But became mad boasting of themselves.
None of them recognized the Real Essence,
But each became absorbed in himself.
Then I created the supreme Rikhis
Who afterwards made their own Simritis current.
They who were smitten by the Simritis
Abandoned My worship.
They who attached their hearts to My feet
Did not walk in the way of the Simritis.[1]
Brahma made the four Veds
And caused all to act according to them;
But they whose love was attached to My feet
Renounced the Veds.
They who abandoned the tenets of the Veds and of other religious books,
Became devoted to Me, the supreme God.
They who follow true religion
Shall have their sins of various kinds blotted out.
They who endure bodily suffering
And cease not to love Me,
Shall all to go paradise,
And there shall be no difference between Me and them.
They who shrink from suffering,
And, forsaking Me, adopt the way of the Veds and Simritis
Shall fall into the pit of hell,
And continually suffer transmigration.
Afterwards I created Dattatre
Who also struck out his own path.
He pared not his finger nails, he decorated his head with matted hair,[2]
And paid no heed to My worship.
Then I created Gorakh

[1] The Simritis purport to follow the Veds.
[2] The milk of the leaves of the banyan-tree is used by faqīrs to wet the hair. It is then smeared with ashes.

Who made great kings his disciples,
And tearing their ears put rings in them :
But he thought not of the way of My love.
Then I created Ramanand
Who wore the garb of a Bairagi,
Put a wooden necklace on his neck,
And paid no heed to My worship.[1]
They who were created by Me
Struck out their several paths.
I then created Muhammad,
And made him king of Arabia.
He too established a religion of his own,
Cut off the foreskins of all his followers,
And made every one repeat his name ;[2]
But no one fixed the true Name in man's heart.
All these were wrapped up in themselves,
And none of them recognized Me, the Supreme Being.
I have cherished thee as My son,
And created thee to extend My religion.
Go and spread My religion there,
And restrain the world from senseless acts.'

I stood up, clasped my hands, bowed my head, and replied :—

'Thy religion shall prevail in the world when Thou vouchsafest assistance.'

On this account God sent me.
Then I took birth and came into the world.
As He spoke to me so I speak unto men :
I bear no enmity to any one.
All who call me the Supreme Being
Shall fall into the pit of hell.
Recognize me as God's servant only :

[1] This is not the Ramānānd whose hymn is found in the Granth Sāhib. The author of that hymn lived long after this, and subsequent to the era of Muhammad. He was the Guru of Kabir who flourished in the fifteenth century A.D.

[2] *Muhammad, rasūl Alla.*

Have no doubt whatever of this.
I am the slave of the Supreme Being,
And have come to behold the wonders of the world.
I tell the world what God told me,
And will not remain silent through fear of mortals.

As God spoke to me I speak,
I pay no regard to any one besides.
I am satisfied with no religious garb ;
I sow the seed of the Invisible.
I am not a worshipper of stones,
Nor am I satisfied with any religious garb.
I will sing the Name of the Infinite,
And obtain the Supreme Being.
I will not wear matted hair on my head,
Nor will I put on earrings ;
I will pay no regard to any one but God.
What God told me I will do.
I will repeat the one Name
Which will be everywhere profitable.
I will not repeat any other name,
Nor establish any other *God in my heart.*
I will meditate on the name of the Endless One,
And obtain the supreme light.
I am imbued with Thy name, *O God* ;
I am not intoxicated with any other honour.
I will meditate on the Supreme,
And thus remove endless sins.
I am enamoured of Thy form ;
No other gift hath charms for me.
I will repeat Thy name,
And avoid endless sorrow.
Sorrow and sin have not approached those
Who have meditated on Thy name.
They who meditate on any one else
Shall die of arguments and contentions.
The divine Guru sent me for religion's sake :
On this account I have come into the world—
'Extend the faith everywhere ;

Seize and destroy the evil and the sinful.'
Understand this, ye holy men, in your souls.
I assumed birth for the purpose
Of spreading the faith, saving the saints,
And extirpating all tyrants.
All the first incarnations
Caused men to repeat their names.
They killed no one who had offended against God,
And they struck out no path of real religion.
The Ghauses [1] and Prophets who existed
Left the world talking of themselves.
None of them recognized the great Being
Or knew anything of real religion.
Nothing is to be obtained by putting hopes in others ;
Put the hopes of your hearts in the One God alone.
Nothing is obtained by hoping in others ;
Put the hopes of your hearts in Him.

Some millions read the Purans together ;
How many silly persons recite the Quran !
But these books shall be of no assistance at last,
And shall save no one from Death's toils.
Why not, O brethren, repeat the name of Him
Who will aid you at the last moment ?
Consider spurious religion as superstition.
No such things will avail you.
On this account God created me ;
Having communicated to me the secret,[2]
He sent me into the world.
I shall proclaim to all men what He told me.

I will repeat God's name,
And all my affairs shall prosper.
I will not close mine eyes,[3]
Or do anything for show.

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[1] Muhammadan saints of excessive devotion.
[2] That spurious religion is of no avail.
[3] As some Indian faqīrs do.

They who wear a religious garb
Are deemed naught by the saints of God.
Understand this, all men, in your hearts,
That God is not obtained by hypocrisy.
They who act for the sake of display,
Shall not obtain salvation in the next world;
And it is only for life their affairs prosper.
Kings on seeing their acting worship them;
But God is not to be found by mummery.
Yet every one wandereth about thus searching for Him.[1]
He who keepeth his heart in subjection
Recognizeth the Supreme Being.

They who by wearing a religious garb keep the people of the world in subjection,
Shall at last be cut with the shears *of Death* and take up their abode in hell.

They who present appearances to the world,
Experience extreme pleasure in fleecing[2] others.
Spurious, and not worth a kauri, is the religion
Of those who practise suspension of breath by stopping their noses.
They who practise spurious religion in the world
Shall fall into the pit of hell.
He who can in no way subdue his heart
Shall not go to heaven by gesticulation.

What God Himself told me I proclaim to the world.
They who meditate on Him shall go to heaven at last.

God and God's servant are both one—deem not that there is any difference between them—
As waves produced from water are again blended with it.

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[1] Also translated—Since God is not to be found by mummery, why should everybody wander about thus searching for Him?

[2] Also translated—In shaving the heads of others *and then making* them their disciples.

God remaineth apart from those
Who indulge in wrangling and pride.
He is not found in the Veds or the books of the Muhammadans.
Know this in your hearts, O saints of God.
They who practise hypocrisy by closing their eyes
Should be treated as blind men.
Since the road is not seen by closing one's eyes,
How can such persons, my brethren, meet the Infinite ? [1]
How far could any one amplify this ?
Men would grow weary trying to understand it.
Though one had a million tongues,
Even then he would fail to recount God's praises.

VII

My father departed for the East
And bathed at various places of pilgrimage.
When he arrived at the Tribeni (Priyag),
He passed his days in meritorious works and alms.
There was I conceived.
I was born in Patna city,
And *afterwards* taken to the Panjab,
Where nurses of different kinds fondled me,
And tended my body in every way.
I received instruction in various forms.
When I arrived *at the age to perform* my religious duties,
My father departed to God's city.

VIII

When I obtained sovereignty,
I promoted religion to the best of my power.

I hunted various sorts of game in the forest,
And killed bears, nilgaus,[2] and elks.
I afterwards left that country,
And proceeded to the city of Paunta.

[1] Who cannot be seen at all.
[2] The Indian antelope.

I enjoyed myself on the bank of the Kalindri (Jamna),
And saw amusements of every kind.
There I selected and killed many lions,
And slew many nilgaus and bears.
Fatah Shah who was the king became angry with me,
And came to blows with me without cause.

Here follow in the Vichitar Natak an account of the battle of Bhangani ; the dispatch of Mian Khan and Alif Khan to Jammu and Nadaun respectively to collect revenue ; the victory gained with the Guru's assistance by Raja Bhim Chand over Alif Khan ; the dispatch of General Dilawar Khan against the hill chiefs and of his son against the Guru, who was left unmolested owing to the son's flight ; the dispatch by Dilawar Khan of Husain Khan to reduce the Guru to subjection ; the failure of Husain Khan to carry out his orders ; his attack on the weaker of the hill chiefs ; the victory of Gopal, King of Guler, and of Ram Singh, King of Jaswan, over Himmat, one of Husain Khan's officers, whom they put to death ; the single-handed combat between Raja Ram Singh and Jujhar Singh, Raja of Chander, in which the latter was slain ; the dispatch by Aurangzeb of his son to the Panjab, where the masands, fearing that he would attack the Guru, deserted him and fled to the highest mountains ; the dispatch of an officer named Mirza Beg to support the young prince and the subsequent expedition of an army under four other officers who, believing that the masands were men of wealth, destroyed their houses and plundered their property. All these details have been given at length in the Guru's life.

IX

They who turn away from the Guru
Shall have their houses demolished in this world and the next.
They shall be laughed at here, have no dwelling hereafter,

And be debarred from all hope.
Sorrow and hunger shall ever attach to those
Who forsake the service of the Saint.
Nothing that they do shall succeed in this world,
And at last they shall fall into the pit of hell.
They who turn and fly from the Guru's feet,
Shall have their faces blackened in this world and the next.

The successors of both Baba Nanak and Babar
Were created by God Himself.
Recognize the former as a spiritual,
And the latter as a temporal king.
Babar's successors shall seize and plunder those
Who deliver not the Guru's money.

They who love the Guru's feet
Shall never see misery.
Wealth and supernatural power shall enter their houses,
And sin and suffering not touch even their shadows.

What is a wretched enemy [1] to him whom the Friend preserveth ?

An enemy could not even touch his shadow ; the fool would lose his labour.

Who can meditate anything against those who enter the Saint's protection ?

God preserveth them as the tongue is preserved among the teeth ; He destroyeth their enemies and allayeth their suffering.

What can a miserable enemy do to him whom the Friend preserveth ?

He cannot even touch his shadow ; the fool shall pass away.

[1] Or—What are the designs of an enemy against him ?

X

All-death saveth all His saints ;
He hath tortured and destroyed all sinners ;
He hath shown wonderful things to His saints,
And saved them from all misery.
Knowing me to be His slave He hath aided me ;
He hath given me His hand and saved me.

Gyan Prabodh

Neither the Veds, nor Brahma knoweth God's secret,
Neither Vyas nor his *father* Parasar, nor *his son* Shukdev, nor the sons of Brahma, nor Shiv knoweth God's limit.
All four sons of Brahma know not *God's* time.
Lakhs of Lakshmis, lakhs of Vishnus, and many Krishans declare Him indescribable.
Thou art incomprehensible, O God, and fearless ; Thou art most powerful, the Creator of sea and land.
Thou art the unshaken, endless, unequalled, immeasurable Lord ; Pure One, I seek Thy protection.

Here follow in the tenth Guru's Granth translations and abridgements of tales from the Purans on the twenty-four Hindu incarnations. The following is the Guru's introduction to them :—

O God, Thou art the Creator and the Destroyer ;
Thou killest and puttest the blame on the heads of others.[1]
Thou dwellest apart and none can find Thee ;
Wherefore Thou art called the Endless One.
They who are called the twenty-four incarnations
Have not found even a trace of Thee, O God.
On seeing Thy saints distressed Thou becomest uneasy ;

[1] Compare the Panjābi proverb :—

Lain āia āp ;
Nām dharāia tāp.
Death cometh to take one,
But he is called by the name of fever.

The meaning of the verse in the text is, that all acts ultimately proceed from God, though they appear to be done by His human instruments.

Wherefore Thou art styled the kinsman of the poor.
At last Thou shalt destroy the whole world ;
Wherefore the world calleth Thee Death.
Thou aidest all the saints as occasion requireth ;
Wherefore they call Thee their helper.
On beholding the poor, Thou art compassionate to them ;
So we deem Thee the Friend of the poor.
Since Thou sheddest the juice of favour on the saints,
The world calleth Thee the Ocean of favour.
Thou ever removest the troubles of the saints ;
Wherefore Thou hast obtained the name of the Remover of trouble.
Thou hast come to dispel the sorrows of the saints ;
Wherefore, O God, Thou art called the Dispeller of sorrows.
Thou remainest endless ; Thy end cannot be found ;
Wherefore Thou hast obtained the name of the Endless One.
Thou didst appoint the forms of all things in the world ;
Wherefore Thou art called the Creator.
No one hath ever seen Thee anywhere ;
Wherefore Thou art called the Unseen.
Thou wert never born in the world ; [1]
Wherefore every one describeth Thee as Unborn.
Brahma and the rest all grow weary *of searching for Thine origin.*
Vishnu and Shiv—what are the wretched beings ?
After consideration and deliberation God made the moon and sun ;
Wherefore He is known as the Creator.
Ever without a garb He remaineth without a garb ;
Wherefore the world calleth Him the Garbless.
Invisible is His form, no one knoweth Him ;
On this account he is called the Unseen.
His form is incomparable and unequalled ;
He hath no concern with garbs or no garbs.
He bestoweth on all but beggeth from none
Wherefore He is recognized as the Provider.

[1] This is an explanation of the word *ajoni* in the *Japji*.

He is not concerned with celestial appearances or omens ;
This fact is known to the whole world.
He is not appeased by incantations, written or spoken, or by charms.
No one hath found Him by adopting a garb.
Men are entangled with their own affairs ;
No one knoweth the Supreme God.
Some (Hindus) go to places of cremation ; others (Musalmans) to cemeteries ;
But God is at neither.
They who visit either are ruined by worldly love and contention,
And the Lord remaineth separate from them.
What is a Hindu or a Musalman to him
From whose heart doubt departeth ?
The Muhammadans use tasbis,[1] the Hindus malas ;[1]
The former read the Quran and the latter the Purans.
Fools have died over the discussion ;
They were not imbued with God's deep love.
They who are imbued with love for the one God,
Disregard human opinion and are happy.
They who recognize the Primal Being as the one God,
Allow no other belief to enter their hearts.
They who cherish any other belief,
Shall be debarred from meeting the Friend.
He who knoweth the one Supreme Being even a little,
Knoweth the Real Thing.
All the Jogis and Sanyasis,
The multitudes of Shaven-heads and Musalmans,
Have plundered the world by their garbs.
The holy men whose support is God's name remain unknown.
The *unholy* practise hypocrisy for the sake of their bellies :
Without hypocrisy they can obtain naught.
The men who meditate on the one Being
Never practise hypocrisy on any one.
Without hypocrisy they would obtain nothing,
For no one would bow before any of them.

[1] Muhammadan and Hindu names of rosaries.

If no one had a belly,
Who would describe any one as rich or poor ?
They who have concluded that God is one
Never practise hypocrisy on any one.
They give their heads, but abandon not their determination :[1]

They regard their bodies as nothing.
Men who split their ears are called Jogis ;
With great deceit they betake themselves to the forest.
They who know not the virtue of the One Name,
Belong neither to the forest nor to the household.
In the beginning God was the father of the whole world ;
From Him light first proceeded.
I have not sufficient ability to tell the tale,
Or to mention the names of the different creatures *He created*.

Things strong and weak were produced ;
Things high and low were shown separately.
The primal light which is called the one God,
He at last infused into *all His creatures*.
Know that the light of the one God
Is in all the souls which are in this world.
The whole world shall be blended with God,
Who is described as Kalrup.[2]
Whatever is visible and perceptible by the senses
Man considereth Maya.
The one God is contained in all things,
But He established them all separately.
And He pervadeth them all unseen :
He will call them all separately to account.
They who have considered Him as One
Have obtained the real thing.[3]

The form of the one God is unequalled :
He is sometimes poor, sometimes a prince or a king.
He hath given to all men their several entanglements ;
He is separate from them, and none of them hath found Him.

[1] As Guru Teg Bahādur did.
[2] Absorber by death.
[3] Deliverance.

He created all things separately,
And will destroy them all separately.
God accepteth not censure from any one ; [1]
It is He who casteth censure on others.

We now give the Guru's remarks on the translations and abridgements of the stories of the Hindu incarnations.

Ram Avatar

Since I have embraced Thy feet I have paid regard to none besides.[2]

The Purans of Ram (the God of the Hindus) and the Quran of Rahim (the God of the Musalmans) express various opinions, but I accept none of them.

The Simritis, the Shastars, and the Veds all expound many different doctrines, but I accept none of them.

O holy God, by Thy favour it is not I who have been speaking ; all that hath been said hath been said by Thee.

Forsaking all other doors I have clung to Thine.
It is to Thine honour to protect me whose arm Thou hast grasped ; Gobind is Thy slave.[3]

Krishan Avatar

I do not at the outset propitiate Ganesh ; [4]
I never meditate on Krishan or Vishnu ;

[1] For destroying him.

[2] Literally—I have not brought any one under my eye.

[3] The Guru, with the joy of an author at the end of his toil, was pleased to note the date and place of the conclusion of his *History of Rām*—

On the first day of the dark half of Hār, a day of pleasure to me,
In the Sambat year seventeen hundred and fifty-five,
At the base of the lofty Naina Devi, on the margin of the Satluj waters,
Through God's help I finished the history of Rām—

that is, the translation of the *Rām Avatār* into Hindi from Sanskrit.

[4] As is usual in Hindi literary works. The Guru no doubt meant these verses as an introduction to his Hindi translation of the Krishan Avatar, which forms the tenth chapter of the Bhāgwat.

I have heard of them but I know them not ;
It is only God's feet I love.
Great-death, be Thou my protector ;
All-steel, I am Thy slave.
Deeming me Thine own, preserve me ;
Think of mine honour, whose arm Thou hast taken.
Deeming me Thine own, cherish me,
Single out and destroy mine enemies.
May both my kitchen and my sword prevail in the world ![1]
Preserve me and let none trample on me ;
Be Thou ever my cherisher !
Thou art the Lord, I am Thy slave.
Deeming me Thine own, be gracious unto me ;
Perform everything for me Thyself ;
Thou art the King of kings ;
It is Thou alone who cherishest the poor ;
Deeming me Thy slave, bestow Thy favour on me ;
I have arrived and am lying weary at Thy door.
Thou art my Lord, I am Thy slave.
Deeming me Thy slave, reach me Thy hand and save me ;
Destroy all mine enemies.

They who loved not God, while performing great penance, who endured self-torment, excessively heated their bodies,
Went to Banaras, and read the Veds very many times, obtained not the Real Thing.
They gave alms so that Vishnu might come into their power, but they lost all their wealth.
They who loved God with hearty affection found Him.

What availeth it if a crane sit closing his eyes and displaying a religious garb to the world ?

[1] The pot to feed the poor and the stranger, regardless of caste and religion, and the sword to destroy the oppressors of humanity. An inscription on a sword in the possession of the Rāja of Nābha is, *Badhe degh te ya tegh te*, that is, man becomes great either by entertaining his friends or destroying his enemies.

If man ever go about bathing in water like a fish, how shall he obtain possession of God ?

If man croak day and night like a frog and fly like a bird, how shall he obtain possession of God ?

Siam [1] and all these saints say, hath any one without love pleased God ?

Of those who through greed of wealth continued to loudly sing and recite God's praises,

And who danced but gave not their hearts thereto, hath any found the way to God's wonderful world ?

They excited laughter in the world, and knew not the essence of wisdom even in their dreams.

The poet Siam asketh if God hath been obtained by any one without love.

Several meditated in the forest, and returned home weary.

Sidhs in meditation and Munis in deep research have sought for God, but found Him not.

Siam saith, all the Veds and the Muhammadan books and the wisdom of the saints have thus decided.

Hearken, O saints, the poet speaketh, they who search with love obtain God.

I am the son of a brave man, not of a Brahman ; how can I perform austerities ?

How can I turn my attention to Thee, O Lord, and forsake domestic affairs ?

Now be pleased to grant me the boon I crave with clasped hands,

That when the end of my life cometh, I may die fighting in a mighty battle.

Blest is his life in this world who repeateth God's name with his mouth and meditateth war in his heart.

[1] Some suppose that Siām is the Guru's *takhallas* or *nom de plume*. Others maintain that it was the real name of one of the fifty-two bards the Guru entertained.

The body is fleeting and shall not abide for ever ; man embarking in the ship of fame shall cross the ocean of the world.

Make this body a house of resignation ; light thine understanding as a lamp ;

Take the broom of divine knowledge into thy hand, and sweep away the filth of timidity.

Parasnath Avatar

O thoughtless fool, why knowest thou not thy Maker ?

O man, why knowest thou not God ?

O heedless beast bound with worldly love, they on whom thou reposest confidence—

Ram, Krishan, and the Prophet—whose names thou continually utterest on rising—

Where live they now in the world,[1] and why singest thou *their praises* ?

Why recognizest thou not Him who is now and ever shall be ?

Why idly worship stones ; will they yield thee any return ?

Worship Him by whose worship thy work shall be accomplished,

And by taking whose name all thy desires shall be fulfilled.

O Jogi, Jog consisteth not in matted hair.

Why wear thyself out and kill thyself wandering ? Consider this in thy mind.

The man who knoweth the supreme divine knowledge shall obtain the great reward ;

He shall then restrain his mind in one place, and not run wandering from door to door.

What availeth it to leave one's home, run away, and dwell in a forest,

When one's heart ever remaineth at home ? Such a person is not an Udasi.

[1] That is, they were mortal like others, and what is the use of worshipping them ?

Boasting of thy religious fervour, thou deceivest the world by the exercise of great deception.

Thou thinkest in thy heart that thou hast abandoned worldly love, but worldly love hath not abandoned thee.

O man with the garb, religion consisteth not in wearing a garb.

It consisteth not in wearing matted hair and *long* nails, or in smearing ashes *on the body*, or dyeing thy raiment.

If man obtain Jog by dwelling in the forest, the bird ever dwelleth there.

The elephant ever throweth dust on his head; consider this in thy heart.

Frogs and fishes ever bathe at places of pilgrimage.

The cat, the wolf, and the crane meditate; what know they of religion?

As thou endurest pain to deceive men, do so also for God's sake,

Thus shalt thou know great divine knowledge and quaff the supreme nectar.

The following thirty-three sawaiyas are also read in Abchalangar and other places while the Sikh baptismal water is being prepared. Several orthodox Sikhs say that these are the sawaiyas which ought always to be read at the baptism, and of this indeed there is internal evidence.

I

He who repeateth night and day the name of Him whose enduring light is unquenchable, who bestoweth not a thought on any but the one God;

Who hath full love and confidence in God, who putteth not faith even by mistake in fasting, or *worshipping* cemeteries, places of cremation, or Jogis' places of sepulture;

Who only recognizeth the one God and not pilgrimages, alms, the non-destruction of life,[1] *Hindu* penances, or austerities;

[1] As practised by the Jains.

And in whose heart the light of the Perfect One shineth, he is recognized as a pure *member of the* Khalsa.

II

God is true, Eternal, true to His promise; He is from the beginning, without beginning, unfathomable, and invincible.

Bounty, mercy, self-control, austerities, daily ceremonies, continence, fasting, clemency, religious observances are all contained in the name of the Immutable One.

He is from the beginning, pure, without a beginning, infinite,[1] endless, without enmity, without fear.

He hath form, and is without form or outline; He groweth not old, He is compassionate and merciful to the poor.

III

God is from the beginning, without enmity, without garb, great, true, refulgent, and resplendent.

He filleth the inmost hearts of all; meditation on Him, the Real Thing, curbeth natural inclinations.

Thou wert in the beginning, before the ages, before the world; O God, Thou art all-pervading and dwellest in every heart,

Compassionate to the poor, merciful mine of mercy, from the beginning, unborn, invincible, indestructible.

IV

In the beginning, indestructible, imperishable, everlasting:—O God, the Veds and the books of the Musalmans have found not Thy secret.

Compassionate to the poor, merciful, Ocean of mercy, true, everlasting, diffused in every heart,

Sheshnag, Indar, Ganesh, and Shiv have searched the Veds, but found not Thy depth.

O foolish man, say why hast thou forgotten God who is ever manifest?

[1] *Anāhad.* If *anāhat* be read it must be translated invulnerable or invincible.

V

God is immovable, from the beginning, stainless, infinite, true, and everlasting.

He is adored as primaeval, unconceived, unborn, free from old age, supremely pure, illimitable.

He is well known[1] as the self-existent, renowned in the whole world, One, yet in different places.

O base man, why recognize not God who is without stain ?

VI

O Creator, thou art imperishable, from the beginning, without blemish, without limits, true, and eternal.

Thou ever providest sustenance for all animals which are in sea and land.

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, describe Thee in various ways.

In the rest of the world there is at last naught but Thee; O divine One, Thou art Sovereign Ruler *over all*.

VII

Thou art known as from the beginning, unfathomable, imperishable, indivisible, invisible, invincible, and illimitable.

Thou art in the past, the future, the present; Thou art adored in every place.

Demigods, demons, Sheshnag, Narad, and Saraswati recognize Thee as true and eternal.

The Purans and the Quran know not the secrets of the Compassionate to the poor, the Ocean of mercy.

VIII

O true and eternal One, perpetual is Thy dominion; it is Thou who madest the Veds and the Quran.

Thou didst appoint demigods, demons, Sheshnag the past and the present.

From the beginning, before the ages, the stainless, the indestructible, Thy light is seen, though Thou art unseen.

[1] *Sidh.* Some translate this word miracles.

O foolish man, who hath come to tell thee of the invisible God ? [1]

IX

Demigods, demons, Sheshnag, serpents, famous Sidhs have done great penance ;

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, all have grown weary singing Thy praises, O God, but Thou art not known unto them.

Thou knowest all hearts on earth, in heaven, in the nether regions, and in every direction.

Thy praises fill the earth ; they entering my heart told me this.

X

The Veds and the books of the Musalmans have not found God's secret ; all the Sidhs have grown weary contemplating Him.

The Simritis, Shastars, Veds, and Purans all describe Him in various ways ;

But God who was in the beginning, and who had no beginning, whose story is unfathomable, *cannot be known*. He saved such as Dhru, Prahlad, and Ajamal.

The courtesan was saved by repeating God's name ; that name is my support, the object of my thoughts.

XI

All recognize that God was in the beginning, that He had no beginning, that He is unfathomable, eternal, and perfect.

The Gandharbs,[2] the Yakshas, Sheshnag, the earth-dwelling serpents, the firmament, and the four quarters of the world know God.

The visible and invisible worlds, the eight directions, the demons as well as the demigods all worship God.

O man of ignorant mind, through regard for whom hast thou forgotten the Omniscient, the Self-existent, the Treasure ?

[1] The answer to this is found in the last line of the following sawaiya.

[2] Heavenly musicians.

XII

Some fasten an idol frmly to their breasts ; some say that Shiv is God ;

Some say that God is in the temple *of the Hindus* ; others believe that He is in the mosque *of the Musalmans* ;

Some say that Ram is God ; some say Krishan ; some in their hearts accept the incarnations as God ;

But I have forgotten all vain religion and know in my heart that the Creator is the only God.

XIII

Ye say that God is unconceived and unborn ; how could He have been born from the womb of Kausalya ?

If He whom we call Krishan were God, why was he subject to death ? [1]

Why should God whom ye describe as holy and without enmity have driven Arjan's chariot ? [2]

Worship as God Him whose secret none hath known or shall know.

XIV

Say if Krishan were the Ocean of mercy, why should the hunter's arrow have struck him ? [3]

If he can save other families, why did he destroy his own ?

Say why did he who called himself the eternal and the unconceived, enter into the womb of Devaki ?

Why did he who had no father or mother call Vasudev [4] his father ?

XV

Why call Shiv God, and why speak of Brahma as God ?

[1] In this line in the original the first Kāl means God, and the second death.

[2] Krishan, who was Arjan's charioteer, proclaimed himself to be God.

[3] It is supposed that the hunter was an incarnation of Bāli whom Rām Chandar had slain. Krishan was supposed to be an incarnation of Ram Chandar.

[4] Father of Krishan.

God is not Ram Chandar, Krishan, or Vishnu whom ye suppose to be lords of the world.

Shukdev, Parasar, and Vyas erred in abandoning the one God and worshipping many gods.[1]

All have set up false religions; I in every way believe that there is but one God.

XVI

Some worship Brahma as God, others point to Shiv as God;

Some say that Vishnu is the Lord of the world, and that by worshipping him all sins are erased.

Think on this a thousand times, O fool, at the last hour all thy gods will forsake thee.

Meditate on Him in thy heart who was, is, and ever shall be.

XVII

He who made millions of Indars, He who made and destroyed some millions of Bawans,

Demons, demigods, serpents, Sheshnags, birds and beasts innumerable,

To whom till to-day Shiv and Brahma are doing penance without finding His limit,

He whose secrets the Veds and the Quran have not penetrated, is the great Being whom the Guru[2] hath shown me.

XVIII

O man, by attitudes of contemplation, matted hair, and the overgrown nails of thy hands thou deceivest all people.

Thou goest about with ashes smeared on thy face and cheatest all the demigods and the demons.

Addicted to avarice thou wanderest from house to house; the means by which Jog is obtained thou hast all forgotten.

Thou hast lost all shame and succeeded in nothing; without love God cannot be obtained.

[1] Also translated—The abandonment of one God and the worship of several gods have been shown by Shukdev, Parāsar, and Vyās to be vain.

[2] Guru Teg Bahādur.

XIX

O foolish man, why play the hypocrite? thou losest thine honour by practising hypocrisy.

O cheat, why cheat people? this world is lost to thee and so is the next.

Where the Compassionate to the poor dwelleth, there shalt thou find no place.

Think, O think, thou thoughtless and great fool, the Unseen is not found by assuming garbs.

XX

Why worship a stone? God is not in a stone.

Worship Him as God, by the worship of whom all thy sins shall be erased,

And by uttering whose name thou shalt be freed from all thy mental and bodily entanglements.

Make the meditation of God ever thy rule of action; no advantage can be obtained by the practice of false religion.

XXI

False religion is without fruit; by the worship of stones thou hast wasted millions of ages.

How can perfection be obtained by touching stones? *nay*, strength and prosperity thus decrease, and the nine treasures are not obtained.

Time passeth away while saying to-day, to-day: thou shalt not accomplish thine object; art thou not ashamed?

O fool, thou hast not worshipped God, so thy life hath been passed in vain.

XXII

If for ages thou do penance to a stone, it will never rejoice thee.

O fool, it will never generously lift its arm to requite thee.

Say what confidence can be placed in it? when trouble ariseth, it will not come to save thee.

O ignorant and obstinate man, be assured that thy false religion and superstition will ruin thee.

XXIII

All are bound in the meshes of Death; no Ram or Moslem prophet was able to save himself.

God having created destroyed, and will again create and destroy demons, demigods, and Sheshnags.

They who were called incarnations in the world at last died before men's eyes [1] in remorse.

O fickle man, why not run to touch the feet of God above.

XXIV

Brahma appeared by God's order and taking his staff and waterpot wandered upon earth.

We know that Shiv was born at the appointed time, and visited all countries.

The world was created and destroyed at the appointed time; wherefore let all recognize God.

Renouncing all the subtleties of the Veds and the Quran, I worship God alone, the Treasury of mercy.

XXV

O blockhead, thy life hath passed in thy present occupations; thou hast not thought in thy heart of the merciful God.

Abandoning shame thou hast grown shameless, and leaving thy *proper* work hast done useless work *for thyself*.

When thou hadst horses and great royal elephants, thou foolishly thoughtest to ride on donkeys.[2]

Thou didst not worship God, O fool, and so didst shamefully spoil thy good business.

XXVI

Thou hast for long read the Veds and the books of the Musalmans, but not found a secret in them.[3]

Thou hast wandered in various places to worship, but the one God thou hast never seated in thy heart.

Thou hast bowed thy head to stones and cemeteries, but obtained naught.

[1] Literally—on earth.
[2] Leaving God thou hast turned to idolatry.
[3] That is, they have no secret.

O foolish man, forsaking the manifest God, why art thou entangled in thine obstinacy?

XXVII

If any one go to a monastery of Jogis, they will ask him to repeat the name of Gorakh ;

If any one go to a monastery of Sanyasis, they will say that only Dattatre is true, and they will give him his name as the spell of initiation ;

If any one go to the Musalmans, they will seize and convert him to the faith of Muhammad—

Every sect deemeth that the Creator is with itself alone ; but no one can disclose the Creator's secrets.

XXVIII

If any one go to the Jogis they will tell him to give every thing—house and property—to them ;

If any one haste to the Sanyasis, they will tell him to part with his house in the name of Dattatre ;

If any one go to the masands, they will tell him to bring all his property at once and give it to them.

Every one saith, 'Bring me, bring me,' but nobody will show me God.

XXIX

If any one serve the masands, they will say, 'Fetch and give us all thine offerings.

'Go at once and make a present to us of whatever property is in thy house.

'Think on us night and day, and mention not others even by mistake.'

If they hear of any one giving, they run to him even at night,[1] they are not at all pleased at not receiving.

XXX

They put oil into their eyes to make people believe that they are shedding tears.

[1] Also translated—The night long they pretend to worship.

If they see any of their own worshippers wealthy, they serve up sacred food and feed him with it.

If they see him without wealth, they give him nothing, though he beg for it; they will not even show him their faces.

Those beasts plunder men, and never sing the praises of the Supreme Being.

XXXI

They close their eyes like cranes and offer the world a spectacle of deceit.

They go about with their heads bowed down like poachers; cats on seeing such attitudes would be ashamed.

The more they go about clinging to the hope of wealth, the more they lose this world and the next.

Thou hast not repeated God's name, O fool; why art thou entangled in thy domestic affairs?

XXXII

Why impress false religion on the world? It will be of no service to it.

Why run about for the sake of wealth? thou shalt not be able to fly from Death's myrmidons.

Son, wife, friends, disciple, companions—none of these will bear witness for thee.

Think, O think, thou thoughtless and great brute, thou shalt at the last moment have to depart alone.

XXXIII

Hear, O fool, when life leaveth thy body, thy wife crying out 'Ghost, ghost', will flee thee.

Thy son, thy wife, thy friends, and companions will give orders to remove thee quickly.

When life leaveth thy body all thy mansions, storehouses, lands, and forts [1] will become the property of others.

Think, O think, thou thoughtless and great brute, thou shalt at the last moment have to depart alone.

---

[1] Also translated—hoarded and buried savings.

Hazare Shabd

O man, practise asceticism in this way :—

Consider thy house altogether as the forest, and remain an anchoret at heart.

Make continence thy matted hair, union with God thine ablutions, thy daily religious duties the growth of thy nails,

Divine knowledge thy spiritual guide; admonish thy heart and apply God's name as ashes to thy body.

Eat little, sleep little, love mercy and forbearance.

Ever practise mildness and patience, and thou shalt be freed from the three qualities.

Attach not to thy heart lust, wrath, covetousness, obstinacy, and worldly love.

Thus shalt thou behold the Real Soul of this world, and obtain the Supreme Being.

O man, practise Jog in this way :—

Make truth thy horn, sincerity thy necklace, and apply meditation as ashes to thy body;

Make restraint of thy heart thy lyre, and the support of the Name thine alms;

Play the primal essence as thy strings, and thou shalt hear God's sweet song.

By the practice of the songs of divine knowledge, waves of melody and exquisite pleasure shall be produced.

The demons and the demigods in their celestial chariots will be astonished and the munis intoxicated *with delight*.

Admonish thy heart, don the garb of self-restraint, and utter God's name inaudibly,

So shall thy body ever remain like gold, and Death never approach thee.

O mortal, touch the feet of the Supreme Being.

Why sleepest thou the sleep of worldly love? be sometimes wakeful and alert.

Why instruct others, O beast, since thou hast no knowledge thyself?

Why ever accumulate sin ? even now lay aside the love of it.

Deem such things simply as errors and love *truly* religious acts.

Ever lay up the remembrance *of God* ; renounce and flee from mortal sin.

By this means shalt thou not encounter sorrow or sin, and escape from Death's noose.

If thou desire ever to have happiness of every kind, be absorbed in God's love.

O God, my honour resteth with Thee.

It is Thou who art the blue-throated, man-lion, moving in the water, blue-robed, wearing a necklace of flowers.[1]

It is Thou who art the primal Being, supreme God, Lord, pure, living on air ;

It is Thou who art the Lord of Lakshmi, great Light, Destroyer of the pride of Madhu, Bestower of salvation, Destroyer of Mur.[2]

It is Thou who art changeless, undecaying, sleepless, without evil passions, Preserver from hell,

Ocean of mercy, Seer of the past, present, and future, Effacer of evil acts.

It is Thou who hast the bow in the hand, who art patient, Supporter of the earth, changeless, Wielder of the sword.

I of feeble intellect have taken the protection of Thy feet ; take my hand and save me.

O man, worship none but God, not a thing made by Him.

Know that He who was in the beginning, unborn, invincible, and indestructible is God.

What if Vishnu coming into this world killed some of the demons,

And exercising great deceit induced every one to call him God ?

How can he who himself did not escape from the stroke of the sword of death,

[1] The gyānis translate *banwāri*—dweller in the forest.

[2] The names in this and the preceding lines of this hymn are epithets of Shiv, Vishnu, Balbhadar (brother of Krishan), and Krishan.

Be deemed God the Destroyer, the Fashioner, the Omnipotent, the Eternal ?

Hear, O fool, how can he who was drowned in the ocean of the world save thee ?

Thou shalt only escape from Death's noose when thou seizest the feet of Him who existed before the world.[1]

When the Guru left Damdama, his disciples sent a messenger after him to tell him of their sad plight. The following is the complaint as versified by the Guru. Others say that the hymn was addressed to God by the Guru himself :—

Tell the dear Friend the condition of His disciples—

Without Thee the wearing of our blankets is a disease to us, and dwelling in our houses is as if we dwelt with serpents.

Our water-pots are stakes of torture, our cups are daggers ; Thy turning away from us is like what animals endure from butchers.

Our Beloved's pallet would be pleasant to us ; living in towns is like living in a furnace.

God alone is the Creator,

The beginning and the end of all things, endless, the Fashioner, and the Destroyer,

To whom blame and praise are the same, who hath no enemy, no friend.

What necessity had He to become the driver of Arjan's chariot ?

The Bestower of salvation hath no father, mother, caste, son, or grandson.

Why should He have come into the world to be called the son of Devaki ?

When He who created demigods, demons, the eight directions, and all extension,

Is called by the name of Murar, what glory is it to Him ?

---

[1] That the Guru was a decided monotheist is proved by all his writings.

How can God be in human form ?

Sidhs have grown weary sitting in contemplation of Him, but they have not been able to see Him in any way.

Such persons as Narad, Vyas, Parasar, and Dhru have deeply meditated on Him.

The Veds and the Purans have grown weary and abandoned their purpose, since they could form no conception of Him.

Demons, demigods, fiends, sprites, describe Him as indescribable.

The faithful consider Him as the subtilest of the subtile, and again pointed Him out as the largest of the large.[1]

The one God having made the earth, the heaven, and all the nether regions they call many.

He who entereth God's asylum shall be saved from Death's noose.

I recognize none but the one God :

I know God as the Destroyer, the Fashioner, the Omnipotent and Eternal Creator.

What availeth it to men to worship stones in various ways with great love and devotion ?

The hand groweth weary by touching stones, and no spiritual power is obtained.

Rice, incense, lamps are offered to stones, but they eat nothing.

What spiritual power is in them, O fool ? what blessing can they bestow on thee ?

If they had life, they might give thee something ; be assured of this in thought, word, and deed—

Except in the protection of the one sole God nowhere is salvation.

Without God's name thou canst not be saved.

How shalt thou flee from Him who holdeth the fourteen worlds in His power ?

Ram and Rahim whose names thou repeatest cannot save thee.

[1] Since He exists in everything.

Brahma, Vishnu, Shiv, the sun and moon are all in the power of Death.

The Veds, the Purans, the Quran, all sects, Indar, Sheshnag, the kings of the Munis,

Meditated for many ages on Him who is called the Indescribable, *but could form* no conception of Him.

Why should He whose form and colour are not known be called black ? [1]

When thou shalt seize and cling to God's feet, thou shalt be freed from the noose of Death.

PRAYER

CHAUPAI

O God, give me Thy hand and protect me,
And all my desires shall be fulfilled.
May my heart be ever attached to Thy feet !
Deem me Thine own and cherish me ;
Destroy all mine enemies ;
O Creator, may my family and all my servants and disciples live in peace !
Destroy all mine enemies to-day,
And all my hopes shall be fulfilled.
May the thirst for repeating Thy name abide with me ;
And may I not, forsaking Thee, meditate on any one besides !
May I obtain from Thee whatever boon I crave !
Save my servants and my disciples ;
Single out mine enemies and smite them.
Remove from me the fear of the hour of death.
Be Thou always on my side ;
O Thou with the sword on Thy banner, protect me ;
Preserve me, O Thou Preserver,
Beloved Lord, Protector of the saints,
Friend of the poor, Destroyer of tyrants—
Thou art Lord of the fourteen worlds.
At the proper time Brahma obtained a body,
At the proper time Shiv became incarnate,

[1] The reference here is to the Hindu gods Vishnu and Krishan.

At the proper time [1] Vishnu appeared—
That was all the play of God.
My obeisance to that *God*
Who made Shiv a Jogi,
Who made Brahma the king of the Veds,
And who fashioned all the world.
Know that He is my Guru
Who made the whole world,
Who created demigods, demons, and Yakshas,
Who is the only God incarnate from beginning to end,
My obeisance to Him alone
Who Himself adorneth all His subjects,
Who bestoweth divine attributes and happiness on His servants,
Who destroyeth their enemies in a moment,
Who knoweth what is within every heart,
And the sufferings of the good and bad.
He is pleased as He casteth a look of favour on all
From the ant to the huge elephant.
He is grieved when His saints are grieved,
And happy when His saints are happy.
He knoweth every one's sufferings
And every secret of man's heart.
When the Creator projected Himself,
His creatures assumed endless shapes ;
Whenever Thou drawest creation within Thyself, *O Lord*,
All embodied beings are absorbed in Thee.[2]
All creatures endowed with speech [3]
Speak of Thee according to their understanding.
Thou dwellest apart from everything ;

[1] The expression *kāl pāi* in this and the two preceding lines is also translated—having first died.

[2] 'The universe comes from God, lives in Him, and returns to Him' is an expression commonly used in the *Upanishads* and *Mahābhārat*. In the *Bhagavat Gīta* creation is represented as evolving from God as the world at the approach of day slowly emerges from the darkness of night, and again dissolving or vanishing in Him as the world disappears after evening twilight.

[3] *Badan*, the mouth, literally—all things in creation which have a mouth.

The wise and the learned know the secret of this.[1]
O Formless One, Thou art changeless and independent ;
Thou art the Primal One, stainless, without beginning, self-existent.
The fool boasteth that he knoweth the secrets of Him
Whose secrets are not known even to the Veds.
The great fool supposeth that God is a stone,
And knoweth not the difference between them ;
He ever calleth the Eternal God Sniv,
And knoweth not the secrets of the Formless One.
Men according to their different understandings
Give different descriptions of Thee, *O God*.
Thine extension cannot be conceived,
Nor how Thou didst first fashion creation.
Thou hast but one form, and that form is incomparable.
Thou art in different places a poor man, a lord, or a king ;
Thou madest life from eggs, wombs, and perspiration,
And again Thou madest a mine of vegetables.
Sometimes Thou sittest as monarch on the lotus flower,[2]
Sometimes as Shiv Thou gatherest up creation.
Thou didst display the whole creation as a miracle ;
Thou art the Primal One from the beginning of time ; Thy form was uncreated.
O God, protect me now ;
Save those who are my disciples,
And destroy those who are not.
The enemies who rise in rebellion,
And all infidels destroy Thou them in the battle-field.
The enemies of those who sought Thy protection,
O God, have died in misery.
Thou hast removed all the troubles of those
Who fall at Thy feet.
Death shall never approach those
Who even once meditate on Thee, O God ;

[1] Also translated—Thou knowest the secret of divine knowledge and of the world. Others suppose that *bed* and *ālim* are epithets of Hindus and Musalmāns respectively.

[2] That is, as Brahma, through whose agency, according to the Hindus, the world was created.

They shall be protected at all times,
And their enemies and their troubles shall instantly vanish.
Thou removest in an instant the sufferings of those
Whom Thou beholdest with a look of favour.
They possess in their homes all temporal and spiritual blessings,[1]
And no enemies can touch even their shadows.
Him who even once remembereth Thee
Thou savest from the noose of Death.
He who repeateth Thy name
Shall be free from poverty and the assaults of enemies.
O, Thou with the sword on Thy banner, I seek Thy protection ;
Give me Thine own hand and save me ;
Be Thou everywhere my helper,
And save me from the designs of mine enemies.

After the completion of the morning and evening obligatory divine services and of the uninterrupted reading or chanting of the Granth Sahib the Sikhs repeat a prayer or supplication called—

ARDAS,

which may now suitably end our presentation of the Lives and Writings of the ten Gurus :—

SRI WAHGURU JI KI FATAH !

Having first remembered the Sword meditate on Guru Nanak ;
Then on Guru Angad, Amar Das, and Ram Das ; may they assist us !
Remember Arjan, Har Gobind, and the holy Hari Rai ;
Meditate on the holy Hari Krishan, a sight of whom dispelled all sorrow.
Remember Teg Bahadur, and the nine treasures shall come hastening to your homes.
Ye holy Gurus, everywhere assist us.
May the tenth king, the holy Guru Gobind Singh, everywhere assist us.

---

[1] *Ridh sidh*, literally—wealth and supernatural power.

God Himself knoweth, He Himself acteth ; it is He who adjusteth.

Standing in His presence, Nanak, make supplication.

Sikhs of the true Immortal God, turn your thoughts to the teachings of the Granth Sahib and the deeds of the Khalsa ; utter Wahguru !

Meditating on the Deathless One, endowed with all power, compassionate, and just, utter Wahguru !

Meditating on the deeds of those who worshipped the Name, plied the sword, ate and distributed their food in companionship, and overlooked others' faults, O Khalsa, utter Wahguru !

O Deathless Creator, illimitable, this creature forgetting Thy name is so attached to worldly goods, that he hath forgotten the Real Thing. Without Thy supreme mercy how shall we cross the ocean of the world ? O great King, lust, wrath, greed, worldly love, jealousy, and other evil passions greatly trouble our minds, but on coming towards Thee worldly maladies and afflictions are healed and dispelled. Show us such favour that we may by word and deed be Thine, and that in all things we may obtain Thine assistance and support.

Grant to Thy Sikhs the gift of Sikhism, the gift of the Guru's instruction, the gift of faith, the gift of confidence in Thee, and the gift of reading and understanding the holy Granth Sahib.

May the Sikh choirs, mansions, and banners ever abide ! Victory to the faith ! May the minds of the Sikhs be humble but their intellects exalted ! Utter Wahguru ! Wahguru ! ! Wahguru ! ! !

We offer this Ardas in Thy presence and at Thy lotus feet. Pardon our errors and mistakes. May all Sikhs who read and hear the Gurus' hymns be profited !

Through Nanak, may Thy name, O God, be exalted,
And all prosper by Thy grace !
Sri Wahguru ji ka Khalsa ! Sri Wahguru ji ki Fatah !

THE RAGS OF THE GRANTH SAHIB[1]

SRI RĀG



[1] As stated in the Life of Guru Nānak, these Rāgs are sung differently in different provinces of India. Of eight of them we have given alternative versions extracted from Rāja Sir Surindra Mohan Tagore's collection of Indian airs made for the Coronation of the King-Emperor. The Rāja's music is in a high pitch adapted for musical instruments; the Gurus' Rāgs are in a low pitch adapted for the voice.



The following is another version of this Rāg :—

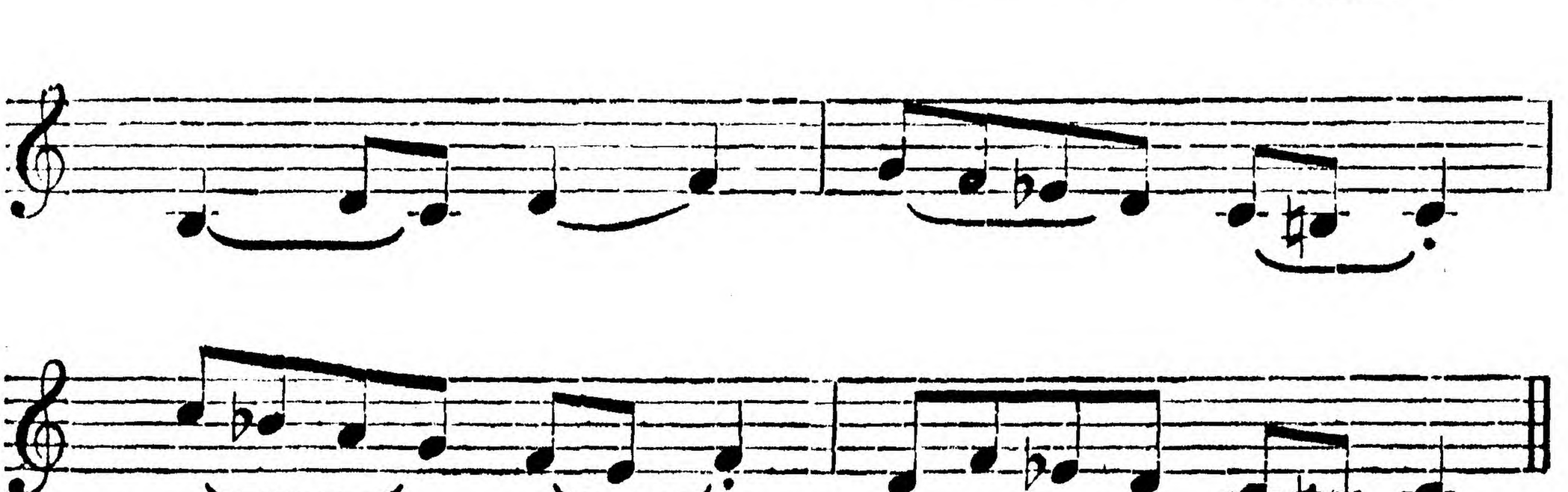






MĀJH





GAURI



The following is another version of this Rāg:—



ĀSA







GŪJARI

Slow.



The following is another version of this Rāg:—



DEVGANDHĀRI



BIHĀGRA



WADHANS



SORATH





DHANĀSARI

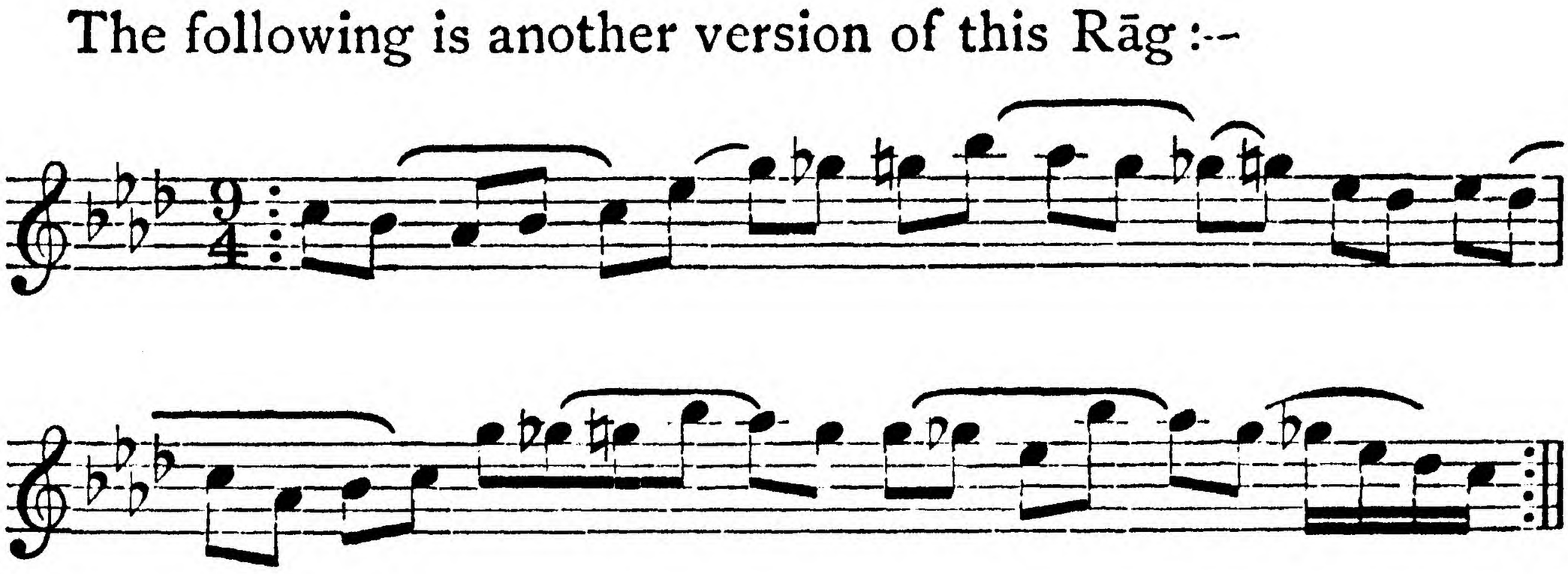


JAITSARI

TODI



The following is another version of this Rāg :--





BAIRĀRI

TILANG



SŪHI



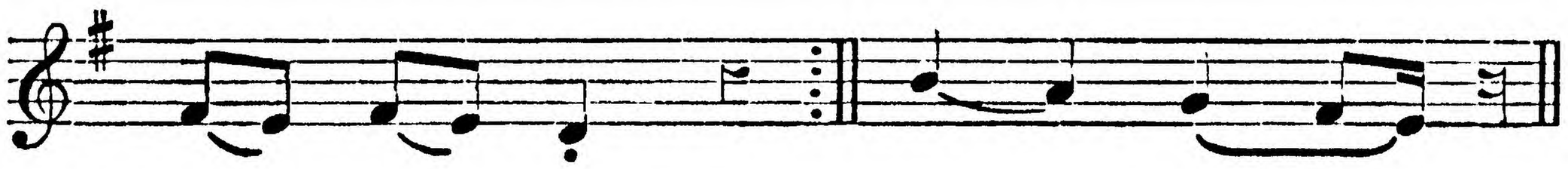
BILĀWAL











GAUND



RĀMKALI





The following is another version of this Rāg :—



NAT



The following is another version of this Rāg :—





MĀLIGAURA



MĀRU



TUKHĀRI



KEDĀRA



The following is another version of this Rāg:





BHAIRO





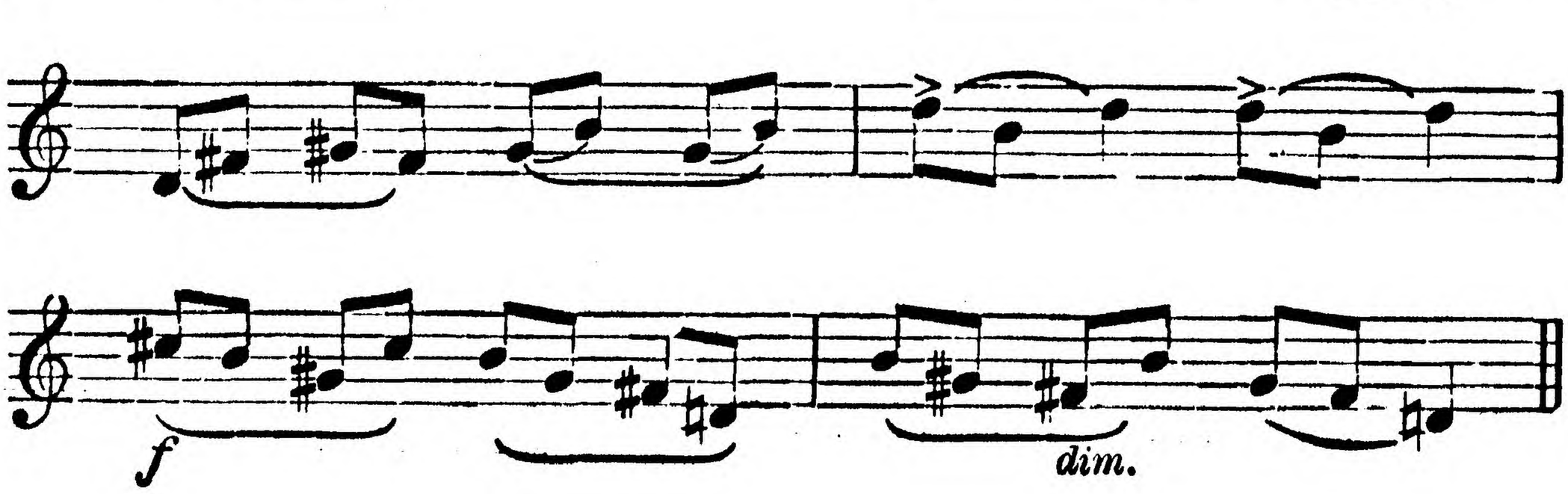


The following is another version of this Rāg :—



BASANT



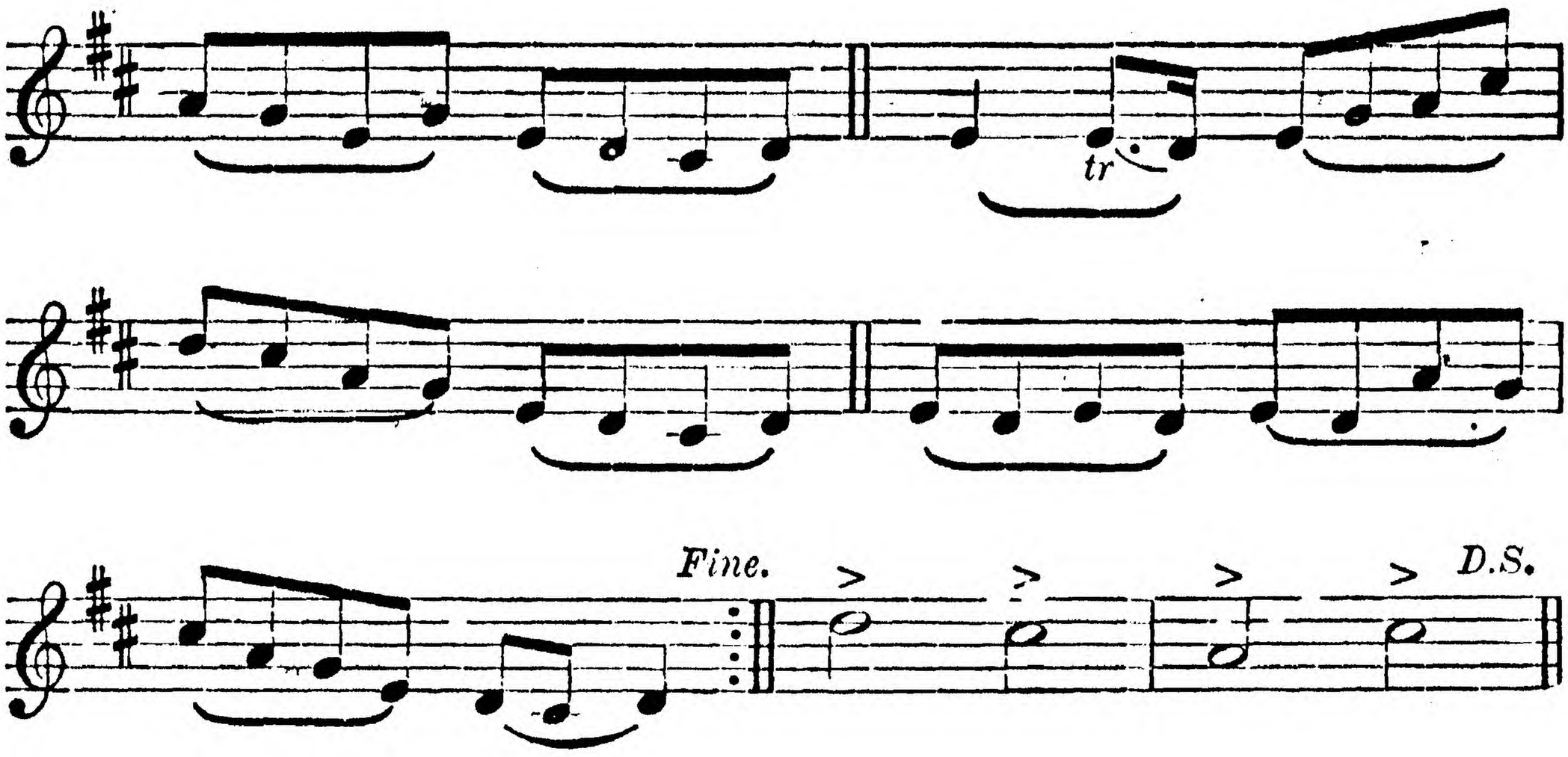


The following is another version of this Rāg:—



SĀRANG





The following is another version of this Rāg:—



MALĀR





The following is another version of this Rāg :—



KĀNARA



KALIĀN



PRABHĀTI



JAIJĀWANTI





END OF VOL. V

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